

THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI  
VOLUME LXVI

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

N. GONIS

and

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## PREFACE

The first part of this volume continues our publication of theological texts from volume LXV. The major item here comprises the extensive remains of a codex of *Revelation*, edited by Dr Chapa (4499); dating from the late third or the fourth century AD, this papyrus is the oldest surviving witness for portions of *Revelation*. Smaller fragments, edited by Dr W. E. H. Cockle, include pre-Constantinian texts of *Luke*, *Romans* and *Hebrews*. Allocated  $\text{P}$ -numbers are given below the inventory numbers.

The literary texts divide into three groups. In Part II Parsons edits two related papyri of epigram; of the six poems, one is known from the Palatine Anthology and there attributed to Nicarchus, the satirist of the early Empire; the five new poems are probably his as well. Dr Obbink edits five papyri in which Anoubion, astrologer and aspiring didactic poet, hammers out horoscopes in elegant elegiacs. Part III contains papyri of Comedy: two further fragments of New Comedy (4522-3); two prose texts concerned with Aristophanes (4508-9); twelve papyri from known plays of Aristophanes himself (4510-21), which confirm some modern conjectures, demonstrate the antiquity of some 'late' variants, and illustrate the uniformity of the colometric tradition. 4508-21 are all edited by Dr Gonis and originally formed part of his Oxford University doctoral thesis.

Part IV brings together twenty-one assorted documents, the work of seven different editors, ranging in date from the first century to the seventh century AD. Notable among these are 4527, seemingly with the total revenue in wheat for a year from one of the three divisions of the Arsinoite nome; 4528, a report of public doctors which completes LXIII 4366; 4537-8, with measurements and technical details of irrigation works, edited by Dr Syrcou, and five invitations to various festivals edited by Dr Monserrat. Both of the last two groups derive from doctoral theses written at University College London under the supervision of Professor Maehler.

The literary index has been compiled by Dr Gonis; Coles has prepared the documentary indexes and co-ordinated the whole.

We are again specially grateful to the Rev. Dr David Parker for his advice on the New Testament texts 4494-4500. Thomas acknowledges the continued support of the Leverhulme Trust.

We are as ever indebted to the staff of The Charlesworth Group, whose energies have facilitated the publication of this volume so soon after its two predecessors.

January, 1999

R. A. COLES  
P. J. PARSONS  
J. R. REA  
J. D. THOMAS  
*General Editors*

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JLCM=J. L. Calvo Martínez	EWH=E. W. Handley	US=U. Schlag
JC=J. Chapa	WBH=W. B. Henry	PS=P. Schubert
WEHC=W. E. H. Cockle	DM=D. Montserrat	AS=A. Syrcou
TF=T. Finney	DO=D. Obbink	JDT=J. D. Thomas
NG=N. Gonis	PJP=P. J. Parsons	

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## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation, see *CE* 7 (1932) 262–9. It may be summarized as follows:

αβγ	The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read
...	Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor
[αβγ]	The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture
[...]	Approximately three letters are lost
()	Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol, e.g. (ἀρτάβη) represents the symbol ἄρταβη, κρ(ατηγός) represents the abbreviation κρς
[[αβγ]]	The letters are deleted in the papyrus
˘αβγ˘	The letters are added above the line
⟨αβγ⟩	The letters are added by the editor
{αβγ}	The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor

Heavy arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates *et al.*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*, 4th edition (*BASP* Suppl. No. 7, 1992). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

## I. NEW TESTAMENT

**4494–4500.**

The apparatus criticus in the texts which follow is based on Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 27th edition (Stuttgart 1993), with occasional further information from Tischendorf, *Editio octava critica maior* (Leipzig 1869–1894), and von Soden, *Die Schriften des neuen Testaments* (Göttingen 1911–1913). Symbols used in the apparatus follow Nestle-Aland<sup>27</sup> and the supplements are also taken from this edition, except where otherwise indicated. References to Turner in the introductions are to E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia 1977). We are greatly indebted for advice, especially on the collating, to the Rev. Dr David Parker.

**4494. MATTHEW X 13–14, 25–27**

A 3B.6/13  
P<sup>110</sup>

7 × 3.8 cm

Fourth century  
Plates I–II

This fragment of a papyrus codex is written in a carbon ink in a handsome hand which slopes to the right. It is an example of the type of bookhand which Guglielmo Cavallo calls 'la maiuscola di tipo ogivale inclinato' (*Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica*, Firenze 1967, 118–19), whose characteristics are set out under the heading 'écriture littéraire penchée vers la droite' by William Lameere, *Aperçus de paléographie homérique*, Paris–Brussels 1960, 178–9. It is largely bilinear, being 2.5–3 mm high, and is written with a narrow, pointed pen. Phi, beta and upsilon extend above and below these limits. It has mannered serifs and no ligatures. Particularly to be noted is the roundel of phi, which is a flattened oval 6 mm wide. Upsilon is written in a single movement, beginning at top left, proceeding to top right and then descending to the foot with a final flourish to the left. The bow of omega is flattened. Epsilon and theta have extended cross-bars. Early examples of similar hands are P. Chester Beatty I (P<sup>45</sup>), assigned to the third century, and P. Flor. II 108, whose omega, xi and alpha with rounded bowl are comparable; this has an item from the Heroninus archive on the verso and hence must have been written not later than the mid third century. However, the exaggerated width of phi and alpha with the knotted top suggest a later date for **4494. XV 1778**, assigned to the fourth century, has a similar phi, but the hand is slightly less inclined to the right; and dated documents from the Theophanes archive of c. 320 (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 70; *GBEBP* 2a) would provide a suitable context.

Inorganic tremata are placed over υμων in ↓3 and 6 (see *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 10–11). Apostrophes are found in βεελζεβουλ in →3 (cf. *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, p. 11), εκμαξατε in ↓7 and after ουκ in →6. Rough breathings occur in →2 bis, 6 and 7. Low stops are placed in ↓4 and →2, 4 and 5. The only abbreviations are αυτη in ↓2 and the *nomen sacrum* κε in →2.





thirds letter-height (↓3), and one instance of diaeresis (↓4). There are no accents. **4496** is the earliest Greek witness to an addition at the end of verse 32.

In addition to the works cited above in the general introduction J. H. Ropes, *The Text of Acts* = Vol. III of F. J. Foakes Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, *The Beginnings of Christianity* (1926), and M.-É. Boismard and A. Lamouille, *Texte occidental des Actes des Apôtres* (1984), have been consulted. As D is not extant for this section of Acts, h has been cited where relevant.

→

	[αναχωρ]ησα[ντες ελαουν]	xxvi 31
	[προς αλ]ηλους οτι [ουδεν]	
	[θανατο]υ η δεσμων [αξιον]	
	[πρασσει] ο ανος ουτο[ε]	
5	[ει μη επ]εκεκλητ[ο Καισα]	32
	[ρα και ου]τως εκρι[νεν ο]	
	[ηγεμων] αυτον αν[απεμ]	
	[. . . . .]. [ . . . ]	

↓

	Αλε]ξανδ[ρινον πλεον]	xxvii 6
	[εις τη]ν Ιταλιαν ε[νβεβασεν]	
	[ημας] εις αυτο· βρα[δυπλο]	7
	[ουντε]ε εν δε ικαν[αις ημε]	
5	[ραις και] μολις γεν[ομενοι]	
	[κατα τ]ην Κνιδον [μη προς]	
	[εωντο]ε ημας τ[ου]	

→2 All MSS except 1838 and 1874 add *λεγοντες* after *αλληλους*. h reads *secesserunt praefantes inter se de eo die[senis]*.

οτι is omitted by  $\mathfrak{P}^{74}$  69 and 328.

3 The papyrus agrees with  $\mathfrak{P}^{74}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  B 33. 69. 81. 181. 242 vg; αξιον θανατου η δεσμων A bo; θανατου αξιον η δεσμων H L P h.

3-4 αξιον πρασει B  $\mathfrak{M}$  it sy; αξιον τι πρασει  $\mathfrak{P}^{74}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  A 33. 81. 104. 945. 1175. 1739. 1891 *pc* vg; αξιον πρασει τι 044. Considerations of space are slightly in favour of the omission of τι in the papyrus.

4 Between ουτος and ει μη nearly all MSS add *Αγριππας δε τω Φηγετω εφη απολελυθαι εδυνατο ο ανθρωπος ουτος* ( $\mathfrak{P}^{74}$  reads only *απολελυθε θδυνατο* [sic]). 326 and 2464 agree with **4496** in omitting the sentence. Its omission is presumably due to homoioteleuton.

In **4496** the supplement at the end of line 4 is very short, but to transfer *ει* to this line would make the supplement at the start of line 5 too short. Perhaps the end of line 4 was left blank since verse 31 finishes at this point. A further oddity is the superscript bar which extends to the left of *αωσ* over the omicron before it.

5 *επ*]εκεκλητ[ο: επικεκλητο  $\mathfrak{P}^{74}$  A L ι. 4. 97. 181. 242. 421. 431 *pc*.

6-8 Most MSS proceed directly from *Καισαρια* to the start of Chapter 27, *ως δε εκρηθη*. At this point 97 adds *και ουτως εκρινεν αυτον ο ηγεμων αναπεμπεσθαι Καισαρι*, and 421 adds *και ουτως εκρινεν ο ηγεμων αναπεμψαι Καισαρι*. After *Caesarem* h reads *et ita legatus mitti eum Ca[esari] indicauit*. A similar addition is supported by several Old Latin MSS and by *sy<sup>hms</sup>* (*sy<sup>p</sup>* has a clause meaning 'and Festus gave orders concerning him that he should be sent to Italy'); see Ropes, 240-1. The traces in line 8 are minimal. It is possible that the papyrus read *αν[απεμψαι Και]ε[αρ]*.

↓1-2 The supplements at the right are rather long, but final nu may have been written as a superscript bar or the letters may have been miniaturised at line ends.

2 τη]ε: 014. 255. 431. 489. 1518 *pc* omit.

ε[νβεβασεν]: the papyrus agrees with  $\mathfrak{N}$  A B 014. 020. 025. 81 *al* against several minuscules which read *ανεβασεν*.

3 ημας εις αυτο: om. εις αυτο h; add. τουτο  $\mathfrak{N}^*$ ; εις αυτο ημας 614. 915; ημας εν αυτο 1838.

3-4 βρα[δυπλου]ντε]ε εν δε ικαν[αις ημεραις: all other Greek witnesses have *εν ικαναις* (εκειναις 81) *δε ημεραις βραδυπλουντες*, which is the order one would expect in view of the position of δε; h reads *et cum tarde nauigaretus per aliquod [tempus]*, supporting the papyrus' transposition along with *sy<sup>r</sup>* *eth<sup>ms</sup>*. Further complications are that there might be room for βρα[δυπλοου] in line 3, and the trace before *εν* does not suit sigma very well. Possibly this is to be understood as a mark to indicate an error in the MS or perhaps the papyrus had a hitherto unattested reading.

Below line 7 there are apparent traces of ink from a line 8 but these are in fact no more than a slight darkening at the edge of the papyrus.

T. FINNEY

#### 4497. EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS ii 12-13, 29

A 9/6  
 $\mathfrak{P}^{115}$

2.7 × 2.4 cm

Third century  
Plates I-II

This tiny codex fragment is written in carbon ink in a neat severe style, largely bilinear; XXXII **2619** may be compared, and to a lesser extent the heavier LX **4041**, a roll but with similar narrow columns.

High stops occur in ↓3 and 4 and probably in →2. There are two rough breathings in ↓4. The *nomen sacrum* π̄νι occurs in ↓3. A line filler of *diple* form is used at the end of →2.

As supplemented the number of letter spaces per line ranges from 11-13. If we assume a normal text, the number of lines missing between the end of →4 and the beginning of ↓1 is c. 100, which would make a column of c. 104 lines if no columns intervene between the text of → and ↓. Since 4 lines occupy a vertical space of 2 cm, a single-column written area would measure c. 4-4.5 cm broad by 50 cm deep, which looks impossibly eccentric. Unless, therefore, we do not have a continuous text but some sort of lectionary, we must suppose there to have been either two or three columns to the page. In Table 8 in Turner's *Typology*, 101-185, a list of codices consulted, the

only two secure three-column codices listed (out of over 1100 consulted) are both parchment codices assigned to the fourth century, PSI II 129, Demosthenes, and Codex Vaticanus Gr. 1209=B; a further possible three-column codex is Codex Vaticanus Gr. 1288, Cassius Dio, assigned to the fifth century. As three-column codices are so rare and none is as early as **4497**, it is more likely that **4497** is from the inner (spine) part of a two-column codex, implying c. 35 lines to the column. The relatively few two-column NT MSS datable before 400 all have less than 40 lines to the column (cf. K. Aland, *Kurzgefaßte Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*<sup>2</sup>). The written area of a double-column page with its intercolumnium would measure c. 10–11 cm broad by 17 cm deep. Assuming margins of say 2 cm, this would imply a codex 14–15 cm wide by 21 cm deep, which would fall into Turner's Group 7 (p. 19). No top or bottom margins survive so that the position of the fragment within the column is unknown.

For the collation, in addition to the works cited in the general introduction, account has been taken of K. Junack et alii, *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus II. Die Paulinischen Briefe, Teil I* (Berlin–New York 1989). No other papyrus of *Romans* so far published contains these passages.

→	νο]μου κρι	ii 12
	[θησον]ται· ου>	13
	[γαρ οι α]κροατ[αι]	
	[νομου δι]και[οι]	
	.	
	.	
↓	κ]αι π[εριστο]	29
	μη κα[ρδιας εν]	
	[π]νι· ου [γραμμα]	
	[τ]ι· ου̇ [ο επαυιος]	
5	[ο]υκ [	

→<sup>2</sup> The final letter of *κριθησονται* is smudged and may have been altered. There is probably a high point after it.

<sup>4</sup> Spacing indicates that the papyrus followed **κ** **A** **B** **D** **G** **Ψ** *al* in omitting *του* before *νομου*, which is added by K L 049 056 0142 0151 and many minuscules.

↓<sup>4</sup> A trace of the rough breathing over *ο* is visible. This proves that the papyrus followed the majority of MSS in reading *ο επαυιος*; it did not follow 056 0142 *pc* in omitting *ο*.

## 4498. EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS I 7–12

A B3.5/7(i)  
P<sup>114</sup>

3.8 × 7.1 cm

Third century  
Plates I–II

A small fragment from the bottom of the first page of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Although there is no writing visible on the ↓ side, there is every reason to suppose that the papyrus formed part of a codex. (Two papyri of *Hebrews*, P<sup>12</sup> and P<sup>13</sup>, are indeed written on rolls, but in both cases the other side of the roll is used for a different text.) It is most probable that the text of **4498** began on the → side and the ↓ side was either blank or contained only the title; for a parallel cf., e.g., P<sup>23</sup>=X **1229**, *Epistle of James*. It is written in carbon ink with a fine pointed nib in a rather small, upright, angular hand 2–3 mm high. The script is largely bilinear, but rho and upsilon drop below the line; note the contrast between broad and narrow letters, the small omicron and the flattened bow of omega. There are no ligatures or serifs. Somewhat comparable hands are I **23**, which must predate AD 295, XXXIV **2700**, on which the editor remarks 'the hand belongs to a type common in the third century', and XLII **3008** (although **4498** is less obviously related to the so-called Severe Style). No use is made of punctuation or breathings. The *nomen sacrum* for *θεος* occurs in lines 2 and 5.

If we ignore line 5, the line lengths can be supplemented within the range 36 to 42 letters (but see line 2 n.). This suggests that approximately 17 lines have been lost before the first surviving line, which would give a column of 27 lines, with a written area of approximately 10 × 18 cm. If we assume a single-column page and make the usual allowance for margins (the left-hand margin survives to 2 cm), the codex would fall within Turner's Group 7 (c. 15 × 25 cm).

The papyrus provides no evidence for the placing of *Hebrews* within the New Testament, for which see W. H. P. Hatch, *HThR* 29 (1936) 133–55, and B. M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament* (Oxford 1987), 298, with further bibliography. The surviving text is unremarkable except for line 5. In addition to the works cited in the general introduction, account has been taken of K. Wachtel, K. Witte, *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus II. Die paulinischen Briefe, Teil 2* (Berlin–New York 1994). The only other papyrus to contain this passage is P<sup>46</sup>=P. Mich. inv. 6238+P. Chester Beatty II, assigned to c. AD 200.

	] αυ[του πυρος φλογα προς δε τον υιον ο θρονος]	i 7–8
	σου ο θε̅ ε[ις τον αιωνα και η ραβδος της ευθυτητος]	
	ραβδος [της βασιλειας σου ηγαπησας δικαιοσυνην]	9
	και εμ[ις]σας ανομιαν δια τουτο εχρισεν σε ο θε̅]	
5	σου ο θε̅ [ ]	10
	κατ αρχ[ας κε̅ την γην εθεμελιωσας και εργα των χει]	

ρων σου [ειναι οι ουρανοι αυτοι απολουνται εν δε δια] 11  
 μεν[εις και παντες ως μιαιον παλαιωθησονται]  
 κα[ι ωσει περιβολαιον ελιξεις αυτους ως μια] 12  
 10 τ[ι]ον

1 υιον may of course have been abbreviated (as in  $\Psi^{46}$ ), but see 4495→3 n.

2 Most MSS read τον αιωνα του αιωνος. Spacing suggests that 4498 is likely to have followed B 33, supported by 1 vg<sup>ms</sup>, in omitting του αιωνος. και is included in  $\Psi^{46} \mathbf{N}^1 \text{ A B D}^* \text{ 0150. 0243. 33. 1739}$ , but omitted by  $\text{D}^2 \text{ K L P } \Psi \text{ 056. 075. 0142. 0151. 0243. 0278. 1881 } \mathfrak{M}$ .

η ραβδος της ευθυτητος ραβδος: so  $\Psi^{46} \mathbf{N}^1$  (ραβδος της ευθυτητος omitted  $\mathbf{N}^*$ )  $\text{A B 0150. 0243. 33. 1739}$   
 ρε; ραβδος ευθυτητος η  $\text{D K L P } \Psi \text{ 056. 075. 0142. 0151. 0278. 1881 } \mathfrak{M}$ .

4-5 The normal text, with no significant variants, is εχρισεν σε ο θεος ο θεος σου ελαιον αγαλλιασεως παρα τους μετοχους σου και εν καταρχας. The simplest solution would be to suppose that the writer of the papyrus has merely transposed the words σου ο θεος; but this would result in a supplement which is 5 or more letters too long for line 5 and we should have to suppose that there was some omission, e.g. of σου or και εν before καταρχας. It may well be that the papyrus had a hitherto unattested variant reading at this point.

7 It is unlikely that ουρανοι was abbreviated in a text as early as this; cf. LXV 4446j, 1-2 n.

9-10 ως μιαιον τ[ι]ον: so  $\Psi^{46} \mathbf{N}^1 \text{ A B D}^* \text{ 1739 vg}^{\text{ms}}$ ; omitted by  $\text{D}^1 \text{ K L P } \Psi \text{ 056. 075. 0142. 0150. 0151. 0243. 0278. 33. 1881 } \mathfrak{M}$  lat sy sa<sup>ms</sup> bo; Ath.

W. E. H. COCKLE

4499. REVELATION II 1-3, 13-15, 27-29, III 10-12, V 8-9, VI 5-6, VIII 3-8, 11-IX 5,  
 7-16, 18-X 4, 8-XI 5, 8-15, 18-XII 5, 8-10, 12-17, XIII 1-3, 6-16, 18-XIV 3, 5-7,  
 10-11, 14-15, 18-XV 1, 4-7

118/48(a)  
 9<sup>15</sup>

fr. (e) 6.2 x 6.3 cm

late third or early fourth century  
 Plates III-VIII, XI-XII

Numerous fragments from a papyrus codex provide scattered but extensive portions of the book of Revelation. The codex is of particular interest because of the relatively low number of manuscripts in the textual tradition of this book (compared to other New Testament writings), the amount of text preserved and its relatively early date.

The codex is written in a medium size, right-sloping (sometimes upright), rather informal hand, rapidly but regularly written. Although letters in the main are made separately, the hand tends to be somewhat cursive, especially alpha and omega. Delta has its descending diagonal capping the left-hand one, iota keeps normally to the base of the line, alpha is made in one movement, mu with uprights almost parallel and straight and its middle curve normally reaching the base line, omicron small and suspended; the plump theta has its cross-bar projecting to both sides; rho, phi, chi and psi reach below the lower line, sometimes kappa and upsilon as well. This manner belongs within Turner's 'formal mixed' group (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 22) or Cavallo-Machler's 'sloping pointed majuscule' (*GBEBP* p. 4).

Informal examples of this common style are difficult to date with any precision. Among objectively datable parallels, we may compare P. Flor II 108 and 259 (Roberts, *GLH* 22a, d), from the Heroninus Archive, mid-third century; VII 1016 (Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 84), also mid or later third century (see LVII 3882 introd.); and P. Herm. 4 (Plate 3b = Cavallo-Machler, *GBEBP* 2a), from the archive of Theophanes, c. AD 315/25. For 4499 a date in the late third century or early fourth seems likely.

The spelling shows some itacisms (αι for ε and οι for υ as well as ει for ι and ι for ει). A diaeresis appears regularly over initial iota and upsilon. Diastole must also have been regular and is still visible in εξηλ[[θου] (page 14, line 42), αγ'γελ[ου] (page 16, line 129), αγ[γ]ελου (page 16, line 133) and απηλ[[θεν] (page 18, line 181). Punctuation is by high point or by the use of a blank space. Usually, but not always, these mark the start of a verse (it is no doubt mere coincidence that all the spaces preserved precede καί, since so many verses in Revelation begin with καί). Final nu occurring at the end of a line is often represented by a horizontal dash written over the letter. Some corrections are made by the scribe's own hand. Others seem to be the hand of a corrector, in an ink which is now brown. Cardinal numbers are normally, though not always, written as figures, and the same may apply to some instances of ordinals. The following *nomina sacra* are attested: εηλ, θν, θν, ανων, ανου, πνα, κν, ονονου, ονονω. Note R. C. Nevius, 'Papyri Witnesses to the Text of the Nomina Sacra in the Apocalypse', *Akten des 21. Int. Papyrologenkongresses* II 750-755.

The extant fragments come from nine different leaves. By reckoning the number of letters to a page, one can estimate that the first surviving fragment would have come from page 3 if the quire began with the book of Revelation, with its title on the first page probably in larger letters. For convenience of reference this assumption has been made, but it must be stressed that no evidence survives from the codex itself that the pages were numbered and so there is no proof that the page referred to as 'page 3' was indeed the third page and not a later page from a larger codex. The sheets of papyrus before folding were laid with the vertical fibres side uppermost. From pages 3 to 10 the sequence is → on the odd pages and ↓ on the even. From page 13 onwards (there are no fragments from pages 11-12) the sequence is ↓ on the odd pages and → on the even. This means that the folding of a quire of five or six sheets was done between pages 10-11 or 12-13. Considering that we have fragments from pages 23 and 24, it is easier to think that all the pages belonged to the same quire and that the folding was done between pages 12 and 13. It is not possible to know whether the codex contained only the book of Revelation or something more. The addition of a 'binio', for example, after a 'senio' would be possible, for 'biniones' occur mixed with larger gatherings (E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex*, Philadelphia 1977, 61), but codices containing several books are also common.

On pages 15 and 16 the first and last lines of the page are preserved, and probably also on pages 13 and 14; possibly the first and last lines are also preserved on other pages. Assuming a normal text, the average number of lines to the page can be estimated

at between 33 and 36, and the average number of letters to the line between 29/30 and 43/44. The area of the written text in the most complete pages can be estimated at c. 12.5 × 20 cm, but it must have been somewhat variable. A top margin of 1.5 cm, almost 1 cm below, and a margin of 2 cm to the left and 1 cm to the right on an even-numbered page are preserved. If we assume that the lower margins are to the upper ones in a proportion of 3:2 (cf. Turner, *Typology* 25), the lower margin would have been larger than the 1 cm visible, c. 2.25 cm. Thus, the codex might have had at least a size of 15.5 × 23.5 cm. This format of codex would fall into Turner's Group 7 (*Typology* 19).

The scribe may have copied his text in an already bound codex. This is suggested by the different width of the written area on → and ↓, especially on some pages. The width of the pages which have the binding to the right-hand side (even pages) tends to be narrower than those which have the binding to the left-hand side (odd pages): e.g. 37 letters to the line on page 13 against 35 on page 14; 37 on page 17 against 30/1 on page 18 (but page 23 is likely to have had only 29/30 against 34 on page 24). The difficulty of writing on the right-hand side of the left-hand page if the codex is already bound could explain the difference.

So far, in the papyrological collections, there have been published six papyri of Revelation:  $\mathfrak{P}^{98}$  (second? century = P.IFAO inv. 237b = P.IFAO II 31, identified by D. Hagedorn in *ZPE* 92 (1992) 243–247),  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  (third century = P. Chester Beatty III),  $\mathfrak{P}^{18}$  (third/fourth century = VIII 1079),  $\mathfrak{P}^{24}$  (fourth century = X 1230),  $\mathfrak{P}^{85}$  (fourth/fifth century = P. Stras. inv. 1028 = *ZPE* 4 (1969) 181–182),  $\mathfrak{P}^{43}$  (sixth/seventh century = P. Lond inv. 2241 = Wadi Sarga 12), and four parchments: 0169 (fourth century = VIII 1080), 0207 (fourth century = PSI X 1166), 0163 (fifth century = VI 848), and 0229 (seventh/eighth century = PSI XIII 1296). To these the parchment fragment 4500 published below is to be added. With the exception of  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ , which contains almost eight complete chapters of the book of Revelation (ix 10–xi 3; xi 5–xvi 15; xvi 17–xvii 2) all these papyri and parchments are very fragmentary and contain only small pieces of text. The only overlaps, apart from  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ , are with  $\mathfrak{P}^{24}$  (v 5–8, vi 5–8),  $\mathfrak{P}^{85}$  (ix 19–x 1, 5–9), 4500 (xi 15–18) and 0207 (ix 2–15). (It is remarkable that the → side of  $\mathfrak{P}^{24}$  ends at precisely the point at which fr. (c) → of 4499 begins, especially as the two papyri are in somewhat similar hands; but this can be no more than coincidence, since the ↓ sides of the two papyri overlap.) Apart from the fragmentary parchments quoted above, there are only seven majuscules:  $\aleph$  (01) (fourth century), A (02) (fifth century), C (04) (fifth century, which lacks i 1–2; iii 20–v 14; vii 14–17; viii 5–ix 16; x 10–xi 3; xvi 13–xviii 2; xix 5–end), P (025) (ninth century, which lacks xvi 12–xvii 1; xix 21–xx 9; xxii 6–end), 051 (tenth century, which lacks i 1–xi 14; xiii 2–3; xxii 8–14), 052 (tenth century, which only contains vii 16–viii 2), and 046 (tenth century).

4499 is the earliest known witness to some sections of Revelation. It is also the most substantial papyrus to have survived apart from  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ . It consists of 26 fragments,

most of which, fragments (e) to (z), come from consecutive pages. Sufficient of these pages survives for it to be possible to estimate the number of lines lost between the fragments and this section has therefore been numbered continuously.

For the collation, in addition to the works cited above in the general introduction, H. C. Hoskier, *Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse* (London 1929), has been used. The supplements in the transcription, given for convenience, are from Nestle-Aland<sup>27</sup> except where indicated.

Compared to other New Testament writings, the textual tradition for the book of Revelation is unique. For a recent general description see J. K. Elliott, *JTS*, n.s. 48 (1997) 116–124. See also K. and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament*<sup>2</sup>, 246–7, and Josef Schmid, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes* (1955–56).

There are four main text-types:

1. A C Oecumenius 2053 2344 2351.
2.  $\aleph^a$  Andreas. The majority ( $\mathfrak{M}$ ) text which follows Andreas is denoted by  $\mathfrak{M}^A$ . P (025) usually belongs to this group.
3. Koine. The majority ( $\mathfrak{M}$ ) text which contains this text is denoted by  $\mathfrak{M}^K$ . 046 usually belongs to this group.
4.  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}\aleph^*$ .

The apparatus always cites  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}\aleph^{85}$  A C 0207; P (025) and 046 when they differ from their text-type;  $\mathfrak{M}^A\mathfrak{M}^K$  or  $\mathfrak{M}$  (where the previous two agree). 2053 2344 2351 are cited from Nestle-Aland<sup>27</sup> (2344 is frequently illegible and therefore cannot always be cited). Evidence is not generally provided where members of a text-type disagree with their group reading. The evidence is mostly restricted to Greek witnesses. All abbreviations are those of Nestle-Aland<sup>27</sup>, except that Old Latin MS letters are prefixed by *Lvt*.

A full statement on the textual affinities of the papyrus will have to await a detailed comparison with the data in Schmid and other sources. But a collation of it with C suggests that it is a representative of the A C text. Variants from it occur, by category as

omission in 4499: x 4, xii 4(?), xiii 8, 13  
omission in C: x 2, 8, xii 14, xiii 6, 7, 8, 15 *bis*, xiv 1 (*semel* or *bis*), 2, 3  
word order: xi 19, xii 9  
wording: ix 19, xi 5, 9, 18, xiii 1(?), 11, 15, xiv 6, 20

There are also possible differences where 4499 has space too small or too large for the C text. A number of these, including many of the omissions, are evidently due to error by the scribe of one of the two MSS. There are a few places where 4499 has a different text-type. There are also places where either a correction which may be by the first hand or an error suggests that the scribe of 4499 knew or consulted a witness with a different text; these include xi 9, xiv 6, 15. One point of particular note: at xiii 18 4499 (like C) gives the number of the Beast as 616, not 666. Irenaeus had found (and rejected) this reading in some of his MSS; 4499 is now our earliest surviving direct witness.







95	κ α[π]εκτα[νθησαν εν] ταις π[ληγαις ταυταις ουδε] μ[ετενοησαν εκ των] εργα[ν των χειρων αυτων] ιν[α] μ[η προσκυνη]σῶσι[ν τα δαιμονια και τα] ειδω[λα τα χρυσα κ]αι τα α[ργυρα και τα χαλκα και] τα λιθινα [και τα ξυλινα α ουτε βλεπειν δυ] νανται ου[τε ακουειν ουτε περιπατειν και ου]	
100	μετενοησαν [εκ των φωνων αυτων ουτε εκ] των φαρμα[κων αυτων ουτε εκ της πορνει] ας αυτων ου[τε εκ των κλεμματος αυτων]	21
→	[και ειδον αλλον αγγελον ισχυρον κατα]βαιω̄	x 1
105	[τα εκ του ο̄νου περιβεβλημενον νεφελ]ην και η [ιρις επι της κεφαλης αυτου και το προσω]πον αυ [του ως ο ηλιος και οι ποδες αυτου ως στυ]λοι πυρ[ος] [και εχων εν τη χειρι αυτου βιβλαριδιον] ηνεωγμε	2
110	[νον και εθηκεν τον ποδα αυτου το]ν δεξιον [επι της θαλασσης τον δε ευωνυμο]ν επι της γης [και εκραξεν φωνη μεγαλη ω]ς περ λεων μοι [καται και οτε εκραξεν ελαλη]σαν αι ζ̄ βροντα[ι] [ημελλον γραφειν και ηκουσα] φωνην . . . [ εκ του ο̄νου λεγουσαν] ςφραγισον [α ελαλη] [σαν αι ζ̄ βρονται και μη αυτα γρ]αψ[ης (lines 116-124 lost)	3 4
125	. . . [ . . . ] μετ ε[μου και λε]γούσαν υπαγ]ε λ[αβε το βι] [βλαριδιον το] ηνεωγμε[νον εν τη χ]ειρι του α[γγε] [λου του εστωτο]ς επι της θαλα[σσης και] επι της γ[ης] [και απηλθα πρ]ος τον αγ'γελ[ον λεγ]ων αυτω δ[ου] [ναι μοι το βιβλαρι]διον κ[αι λεγει μ]οι λαβε και κ[α] [ταφαγε αυτο και πι]κραξε[ι σου την κοιλ]ιαν αλλ [εν τω στοματι σου ε]σται γ[λυκυ ως μελ]ι και ελα [βον το βιβλαριδιον] εκ τη[ς χειρος του αγ]γελου και [κατεφαγον αυτο και ην εν τω στομ]ατι μου ως	8 9 10

135	[μελι γλυκυ και οτε εφαγον αυτο εγε]μ[ι]ε[ι]σθη η κοιλι [α μου και λεγουσι μοι δε]ι σε παλ[ιν] προφητευσ[αι] [επι λαοις και εθνεσιν και γλωσ]σαις και βασιλ[ευ] [σιν πολλοις και εδοθη μοι καταμ]ορς ομοιος ρα[βδω]	11 xi 1
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Pages 17-18: Frr. (m) to (o)  
(line 139 lost)

↓	. . . . . εν αυ]	
140	τω κα[ι αυτην [ . . . ] εθνεσιν κ[αι την πολιν την αγιαν πατησουσιν] μηνας μ̄β [και δωσω τοις δυσιν μαρτυσιν μου]	xi 2 3
145	[κα]ι προφη[τευσουσιν ημερας Αεξ̄ περιβεβλη] [μ]ενοι σακ[κο]υ[ς ουτοι εισιν αι β̄ ελαιαι και αι β̄] [λυ]χραι [αι ε]νω[πιον του κ̄υ της γης εστωτες και] [ει τις αυ]τος θελ[ει αδικησαι πυρ εκπορευεται] [εκ του στ]οματος [αυτων και κατεσθιει τους εχθρους] [αυτων] και ει τ[ις θεληση αυτους αδικησαι ουτως δε]ι [αυτον α]ποκ[τ]α[νθηναι (lines 152-158 lost)	4 5
150	. . . . . ] . . . . . ] . . . . . ] . . . . . ] [της μεγαλης] ητι[ς καλειται π̄νικω̄ς] Κοδομα και [Αιγυπ]τ[ο]ς οπο[υ και ο κ̄ε αυτων εσταυρωθη και βλε] [πουσι]ν εκ τω[ν λαων και φυλων και γλωσσων] [και] εθνων τα κα[ι] [πτωματα αυτων ημερας γ̄] [και] ημισυ· και τα πτωματα αυτων ουκ αφιουσιν]	8 9
165	[τεθ]ηραι εις μ[νημειον και οι κατοικουντες] [ε]πι της [γ]ης· χα[ιρουσιν επ αυτοις και ευφρανουν] [ται] κα[ι] δ[ωρα π]εμψουσιν αλληλοις οτι ουτοι [οι β̄] προφηται [εβασανισαν τους κατοικουντας] [επ]ι της γη[ς] και [μετα τας γ̄ ημερας και το ημισυ] [π̄να ζωης ε]ιρηλθεν εκ του θ̄υ αυτοις και εστη] [σαν επι το]υ[ς πο]δας αυτων και φοβος μεγας επ̄ε]	10 11



250	[αρσενα και εδοθησαν τη γυναικ]ι δυο πτερν [γες του αετου του μεγαλου ινα πετηται] εις την ε[ρη] [μον εις τον τοπον αυτης οπου τρεφε]ται εκε[ι] [καιρον και καιρους και ημιςυ και]ρου απ[ο] προ [ωπου του οφεις και εβαλεν ο ο]φεις εκ του στο 255 [ματος αυτου οπισω της γυναικος] υδω[ρ] ως [ποταμον ινα αυτην ποτα]μοφορ[η] [τον ποιηση και εβοηθησεν η γη τ]η γυναι[ε] [κι και ηνοιξεν η γη το στομα αυτης] και [κατεπιεν τον ποταμον ον εβαλεν ο δρ]ακω[ν] 260 [εκ του στοματος αυτου και ωργισθη ο] δρα [κων	14 15 16 17
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(lines 262-266 lost)

	] και επι τας κεφαλ[ας αυτου] [ονοματα βλασφ]ημιας και το θηριον [ο ειδον ην] [ομοιον παρδ]αλει και οι ποδες αυτο[υ ως αρκου] 270 [και το στομα α]υτου ω[ς] τ[ο]μα λεοντο[ς και] [εδωκεν αυτω ο δ]ρακων την δυναμιν α[υτου] [και τον θρο]νον αυτου και εξουσιαν [μεγα] [λην και μια]νετων κεφα[λ]ων αυτου ω[ς] [εις θανατον και η π]λη[γ]η 275 [του θανατου αυτου εθερα]πευθ[η και εθαν] [μασθη ολη η γη οπισω του] θηρι[ου]	xiii 1 2 3
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(lines 277-283 lost)

Pages 21-22: Fr. (t) to (w)

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285	θν̄ βλασφ[ημιας το ονομα αυτου και την] σκηνη[ν αυτου τους εν τω ουνω σκηνουντας] και εδοθ[η αυτω ποιησαι πολεμον μετα των] [α]γων κα[ι νικησαι αυτους και εδοθη αυτω ε] ξουσια ε[πι πασαν φυλην και λαον και γλωσ] σαν και [εθνος και προσκυνησουσιν αυτον παντες]	xiii 6 7 8
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290	οι κατοικου[ν]τες επι της γης ου ου γεγραπται το] ον[ο]μα εν τ[ω] βιβλιω της ζωης του αρνιου του] [εσφαγμενου]υ [απο καταβολης κοσμου ει τις εχει] [ου ακου]σατω [ει τις εις αιχμαλωσιαν υπαγει] [ει τις εν μ]αχαρη [η αποκτανθηται αυτον εν μαχα] 295 [ρη αποκτανθ]ηνα[ι ωδε εστιν η υπομονη και η] [πιστις των α]γων και [ειδον αλλο θηριον ανα] [βαινον εκ τη]ς γης και ει[χεν κερατα β ομοια] [αρνω και ε]λα[ει] ως δ[ρακων και την εξου] [σιαν του π]ρωτου θη[ριου πασαν ποιει ]	9 10 11 12
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(lines 300-303 lost)

	[πυρ ποι]η καταβα[ινειν εις την γην ενωπιον] 305 [των α]νων και πλ[ανα τους κατοικουντας επι] [της γ]ης δια τα σημ[εια α εδοθη αυτω ποιησαι] [ενω]πιον του θη[ριου λεγων τοις κατοικουσιν ε] [πι] της γης ποιησαι εικονα τω θηριω ος εχει την] πληγην τη[ς] μαχαρης και εξησεν και ε] 310 δοθη αυτω δ[ουναι παν̄α τη εικονι του θηριου ιν] α κ[αι] λ[αληση] [η εικων του θηριου και ποιηση οσοι] [εαν] μη [προσκυνησουσιν τη εικονι του θηριου] [απ]οκτα[ινθωσιν και ποιει παντας τους μικρους και] [τους] μεγ[αλους και τους πλουςιους και τους]	13 14 15 16
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(lines 315-319 lost)

→

320	]. [ νο]ν ψηφισ[α] [τω τον αριθμον του θηριου αριθμο]ς γαρ αν̄ου [εστιν και ο αριθμος αυτου ] . η̄ χ̄ις̄ [και ειδον και ιδου το αρνιον εστο]ς επι το ορο[ς] 325 [σιων και μετ αυτου ρ̄μδ̄ χιλιαδε]ς εχουσαι[ε] [το ονομα αυτου και το ονομα του π̄ρς̄ α]υτου γε [γραμμενον επι των μετωπω]ν αυτων και [ηκουσα φωνην εκ του ουνου] ως φωνην ῡ [δατων πολλων και ως φωνην βροντης μεγα]	xiii 18 xiv 1 2
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330	[λης και η φωνη ην ηκο]υσα ω[ς φωνην κι [θαρωδων κιθαριζοντω]ν εν [ταις κιθαραις] [αυτων και αδουцин ωδη]ν κ[αινην ενωπι] [ον του θρονου και] ενωπιον τω[ν τεσσαρων] [ζωνων και των πρε]ςβυτερων [και ουδεις εδυ] 335 [νατο μαθειν την] ωδην ει μ[η αι ρμδ̄ χιλια] [δες οι ηγορασμενοι] απο της[ (lines 337-340 lost)	3
341	] ευρεθη ψ[ευδος] [αμωμοι ειςιν και ]λον ιδον αγ'γ[ελον] [πετομενον εν μεσουρανημ]ατι εχοντα [εναγ] [γγελιον αιωνιον ευαγγελικαι] τους κατοικουν] 345 [τας επι της γης και επι παν εθ]νος και φυλ[ην] [και γλωσσαν και λαον λεγων] εν φωνη μ[ε] [γαλη φοβηθητε τον θ̄ν και δ]οτε αυτ[ω] δοξᾱ [οτι ηλθεν η ωρα της κρισεως αυτ]ου [και] [προσκυνησατε τω ποιησαντι το]ν ουν[ον] 350 [και την γην και θαλασσαν και πη]γας υ[δατων] (lines 351-355 lost)	5 6 7

Pages 23-24: Fr. (x) to (z)

↓

	...[.]...[ ...[.]...[ ...[.]...[ βασανισθη] 360 ρε̄ται εν [π]υρ[ι και θειω ενωπιον αγγελων] α[γ]ιων [κα]ι ενω[πιον βα] [σανις]μου [αυ]των ε[ις αιωνας αιωνων] [αναβαινει κ]αι ουκ ε[χουσιν αναπαυειν] [ ]ημερας] και [ ] (lines 364-373 lost) ]. . . . . [ ] επι	xiv 10 11
		14

375	[της κεφαλης αυτου ε]τεφανο[ν χρουσιν και] [εν τη χειρι αυτου δρ]επανον [οξ̄ν και αλ] [λος αγγελος εξηλθ]εν εκ του [ναου] [κραζων εν φωνη] μεγαλη [τω καθημενω] [επι της νεφελης] πεμψ[ον το δρεπανον σου] 380 [και θερισον οτι ηλθε]ν ἡ ωρ[α θερισαι οτι] [εξηρανθη ο θερισμος ] . ης [ ] (lines 382-390 lost)	15
	→	
391	[ ]ηκμασαν αι σταφυλα]ι α[υ]τη[ς] [και εβαλεν ο αγγελος το δρεπανον αυτου] εις την [γην και ετρυνησεν την αμπελον της] γης και ε [βαλεν εις την ληνον του θυμου του] υ[θ̄ν] τον με[γ]ᾱ 395 [και επατηθη η ληνος εξωθε]ν ἡ της π[ολ]ειως και [εξηλθεν αιμα εκ της] ληνου αχ[ρι] των χ[α] [λων των ιππων απο σταδ]ιων Β̄χ [και ειδον] [αλλο σημειον εν τω συνω̄ μ]εγα και θ[αυμαστον] ]. . . . . [ ] (lines 400-411 lost)	xiv 18 19 20 xv 1
	[ ]εφαν]ερωθη[σαν και μετα] [ταυτα ειδον και ηνοι]γη ο ναο[ς της σκηνης] [του μαρτυριου εν τω ου]νω και εξη[λθον οι ζ̄] 415 [αγγελοι οι εχοντες τας] ζ̄ πληγ[α]ς [εκ του] [ναου ενδεδυμενοι λινον] καθαρο[ν λαμπρον] [και περιεζωσμενοι περι]ε τα στηθ[η] ζωνας [χρυσας και εν εκ των δ̄] ζωνων [εδωκεν τοις] ]. . . . . [ ]	4, 5 6 7

Pages 3-4: Fr. (a)

→ The expected text would require 41 letters to have been lost between lines 3 and 4 and 46 between lines 4 and 5, but noticeably fewer between lines 1 and 2 and between 2 and 3, even if we allow for the longer variants. Therefore the fragment has been left unrestored.

↓ The lateral position of the fragment is merely hypothetical.

- 2 Spacing suggests the papyrus included *οτι* which is omitted by C 2053 *al*.
- 3 *εδιδασ[κεν]*: so **N** A C P **W**<sup>A</sup> *al* vg; *εδιδαξε(ν)* 046. 1006. 1841. 2351 **W**<sup>B</sup> *bo*.
- τω [Balak: there are some faint traces above τω. It is not clear if these are in the first hand, and it is difficult to tell whether they stand for some letters (*ev* would be possible) or just for a line or mark to indicate a correction or deletion. τω Balak is the reading of A C and some minuscules; *εν τω Βαλακ* 1. 18; 046 reads only Βαλακ; **N**\* omitted τω Βαλακ and **N**<sup>c</sup> corrects to τον Βαλακ; P **W**<sup>A</sup> read *εν τω Βαλακ του Βαλ*.
- 6 [ . . . ]: some traces of which the first two could be λα. This would suggest Νικο[λα]ι[των], but the following trace is unclear and appears to have a tiny *αι* written over it (in the same hand). If the papyrus did have Νικολαιτων at this point, spacing suggests it omitted των before it (so A C 046. 1611. 1854 **W**<sup>B</sup>). των is included by **N** P 2053. 2351 **W**<sup>A</sup>.

Pages 5–6: Fr. (b)

This fragment belongs to a new leaf. No margins are preserved and the restoration of its lateral position is hypothetical.

→

- 1 [ . ]: horizontal stroke at the level of the bottom line, which would suit delta or xi. The obvious assumption would be to supply ε[ξ]ου[σιαν], but this perhaps gives too long a line.
- 3 *εντριβε[ται]*: so **N** A C 2050 *pc*; *εντριβησεται* P 046 **W** *lat*. Either reading is possible in the papyrus. *αυτου*: above *αυτου* a supralinear bar is visible. The papyrus may have read *αυτου* or *αυτου*[ς], but since the addition of *αυτου* or *αυτου* is not attested elsewhere, we should probably take the bar to indicate a deletion (for examples of this sort of deletion cf. Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 16). The text of the Septuagint (Psalm ii 9; *ποιμανεις αυτους εν ραβδω σιδηρα, ως σκεθος κεραμεις εντριβεις αυτους*), which the author of the book of Revelation is paraphrasing, might have prompted the scribe's addition of *αυτου*.
- 5 [π̄α: the left-hand part of the supralinear bar is still visible.

↓

- 1 [ . ] οῡ τ[ου]; tau is almost certain. The traces above οῡ are faint but a horizontal seems likely. This suggests dittography of τ[ου] and a deletion mark (see above, page 5 line 3).
- 2 Spacing suggests the papyrus included *ιδου* with 2014 *pc* Lvt (a); Tyc Apr. *ιδου* is omitted by **N** A C P 046 and most other MSS.
- 3–4 ] ναου was apparently written (though there is unexplained ink to the upper right of a); ω has been added above οῡ, probably by the original hand. The MSS offer *εν τω ναω* without significant variation. οῡ may be an isolated slip, under the influence of the following genitives. The spacing would allow the following reconstruction:  
[μη̄δεις λαβη τον στε[φανου] σου [12] ο νικαν ποιησω αυ  
τον στελον εν τω] ναοῡ τ[ου]ν [β] μου.  
One could explain the genitive more rationally by writing *εντος του] ναου*, an unattested variant. But that looks too long.
- 4–5 ] και [ is certain. But if we continue to restore the transmitted text, we run into difficulties:  
τον στελον εν τω] ναοῡ τ[ου]ν [β] μου και εξω οῡ μη̄ ε[ξ]  
ε[λθη] επι . . . . ] και [γραψω, with an unexplained gap.

Pages 9–10: Fr. (c) + (d)

Fragments from a new leaf; a complete leaf must have been lost between these fragments and the one preceding. There is a small gap between (c) and (d), but for the purposes of transcription I treat them as one. The lateral position of the supplements is hypothetical. The average number of letters to the line is uncertain on ↓; as restored, it is 43 on →.

→

- 1 *τεσσαρα* (or δ̄) is the reading of **N** A and most MSS; it is omitted by P **W**.
- 2 *επε[ει]σαν*: so **N** A and many minuscules (for the intrusion of the first aorist endings into the inflexion of the second aorist cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* § 317 (17) and Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*<sup>17</sup> (1990) § 81); *επεσον* 046 and many other MSS.
- 3 *κιθαραν* και *φιαλας*: so **N** A P 046; *κιθαρας* και *φιαλας* **W**<sup>A</sup> vg.

↓

- 2–3 After *προ[ξεν]* the expected text is *την σφραγιδα την τριτην ηκουσα του τριτου ζωου λεγοντος*. There are no attested variants, apart from the reading of *την τριτην σφραγιδα* by some minuscules. This is too long for the papyrus even if we suppose that *τριτην* and *τριτου* were replaced by figures (cf. page 13, line 13 n.).
- 3 The variants attested are:  
*ερχου και ειδου και ιδου ιππος*: so A C (ιδου) P 2053.  
*ερχου και ιδε και ειδου και ιδου ιππος*: so **N** 2344.  
*ερχου και ιδε και ιδου ιππος*: so 046 **W**<sup>B</sup>.  
*ερχου και ιδου ιππος*: so 1854.
- The second would be too long and the fourth too short. Either the third or the first is possible. Since *ιδου* for *ειδου* (which is also read by C) is found on page 22, line 342, the first is the most likely supplement.
- 4 The expected reading, *επ αυτον εχων ζυγον εν τη χειρι αυτου και ηκουσα ως φωνη*, is too long, even if the papyrus omitted *ως* with 046 **W**<sup>B</sup>. Unfortunately **W**<sup>24</sup> is lost between *καθημ[ε]νος* and *κ[αι] ηκουσα*.

Pages 13–14: Fr. (e) to (i)

These five fragments belong to the same leaf of the codex. Again, a complete leaf has been lost between them and the preceding fragments. There are remains of 26 lines of a page which probably had 35 lines in total on side ↓ and 32 or 33 lines on →. The first line of fr. (e) is quite likely to have been the first line of the page. The lateral position of (e) and (i) is certain, as they preserve the start and ends of the lines; the other fragments are only tentatively placed. The average number of letters to the line on ↓ was 37 and on → 35. There is a substantial loss in the middle of the page between (e) and (f) + (g).

↓

- 1 δω[κε]ι τ[α]; before tau there is a trace of a vertical, slightly curved to the left. It suggests iota rather than eta. The dimensions of the lacuna also favour *δωκει*: so **N** A C; *δωκη* P 046 **W**; *δω* 1006. 1841. 2053 *pc*. *τα[ις] προσευχας*: this is the reading of most of the MSS, but 94 **W**<sup>A</sup> read *τας προσευχας*; των *προσευχων* 1611.
- 7 *εβαλ[εν]*: so most authorities; *ελαβον* A; *εβαλλον* P and a few minuscules.
- 7–8 *βρον[η]ται και [ι] φωναι και [α]ς [τραπαι]*: so **N** 046. 2351 **W**<sup>B</sup>; *βρονται και αστραπαι και φωναι* A 052. 2344; *φωναι και βρονται και αστραπαι* P 2053 **W**<sup>A</sup>; *βρονται και αστραπαι* 1006 *pc*. The same expression (*βρονται και φωναι και αστραπαι*) occurs in Revelation iv 5 in a different order: *αστραπαι και φωναι και βρονται*, with no relevant variants.
- 9 *αγγ[ε]λοι ε[χ]ουντες*: so A P 046 and most of the MSS; **N** 2053. 2351 and a few minuscules omit *οι*. The dimensions of the lacuna suggest that *οι* is not part of *αγγελου*.
- 10 *εα[ν]τους*: so **N**<sup>1</sup> P 046 **W**; *αυτους* **N**\* A 2351 *pc*.
- 10–11 It is likely that the papyrus read *αγγελος* before *εαλπισεν*, for otherwise line 10 would be too short. This is the reading supported by **W**<sup>A</sup>. **N** A P 046 and many other MSS omit it.
- 13 *κα[ι] το] τρε[ι]ς [α] τω[ν] τ[ρι]ν* corr. from γ. It seems that the scribe first wrote *τριτον* as a figure, i.e. *κα[ι] το] γ' τω[ν] δενδρων*; then gamma was modified by a corrector to tau, and rho and iota were added under the horizontal of the former gamma (these corrections are in ink now brown); finally, *των* was written above the line. Ordinal numbers are occasionally written as figures in **W**<sup>47</sup>.
- 26–27 The supplement between these two lines seems slightly too short. The readings *επι των υδατων* (so A and 1597) or *απο των υδατων* (so 1854 and a few minuscules) instead of *εκ των υδατων* would not be enough to account for the discrepancy. No other variants are attested.
- 28–29 All other witnesses read *το τριτον του ηλιου και το τριτον της σεληνης και το τριτον των αστερων*. The supplement is clearly too long, even if we assume that here again the scribe wrote γ' for *τριτον*. Possibly the scribe jumped from the first *και το τριτον* to the second and omitted *και το τριτον της σεληνης* through homoioteleuton.
- 29 [ι]ρα: the nu is very doubtful.
- 30–31 *η ημερα [μη φανη το τριτον]*: so most of the authorities (A reads *τεταρτον* for *τριτον*). The position of *ημερα* in the line probably excludes *το τριτον αυτης μη φανη η ημερα* which is the reading of 046. 2351 **W**<sup>B</sup>.
- 31 [ . . . ]: the traces are so faint that no reading can be suggested with confidence. We expect *αυτης* και η before *νυξ*.
- 31–32 *α[γγε]λου*: so **N** A 046 **W**<sup>B</sup>; *αγγελου* P **W**<sup>A</sup>.
- 33 It is impossible to tell whether the papyrus omitted the third *ουαι* with 2329 *al*.

→

It is very unlikely that a line has been lost between the foot of the preceding page and the top of this, although the distribution of the letters between lines 35 and 36 is uncertain. There would perhaps be room in line 36 to restore *και ο πεμπτος αγγελος εσαλπικεν και* before *ειδον* (or *ιδον*), which would allow Chapter ix to begin at the top of a new page, if *πεμπτος* were written *ε'*.

36 *ειδον*: A 046 and some minuscules have *ιδον*; N P and most of the MSS read *ειδον*. The papyrus may well have read *ιδον*, cf. page 22, line 342.

*αστερα*: so most of the authorities; *αστερας*: N\* (N\*: *αστερα*).

38–39 *και ηρωιξεν*: so A P W<sup>A</sup>; *και ηρωιξεν το φρεαρ της αβυσσου* is omitted (through homoioteleuton) by N 046. 2053 W<sup>K</sup>.

39 *κατ[ω]ς*: omitted by 0207.

40–41 *κ[α]μινου* (l. *καμινου*) *με[γ]αλης*: so N A P W<sup>A</sup>; *καμινου καιομενης* 046. 2351 W<sup>K</sup>; *καμινου μεγαλης καιομενης* 2053 Lvt (gig) sy<sup>h</sup>. The supplement *εκ του φρεατος ως καπνος* is rather short, but the addition of *της αβυσσου* after *εκ του φρεατος* (so 1841) would make the line too long. Apart from the omission of *ως* in A, no other variants are attested.

41 *εκ του*: so most of the MSS; *εκ του καπνου του φρεατος και* is omitted by N\* Lvt (h) vg<sup>ms</sup> (homoiocartoon).

43 *αυτος*: so N 046 *ρς*; *αυτας* A P 0207 W. This suggests that the papyrus is likely to have read *αυτος* (rather than *αυτας*) in line 45 also.

48 του θ[ε]υ: so N A P 046 and most of the MSS; omitted by W<sup>A</sup>. The suprascript bar over θ is no longer visible.

48–49 It is uncertain whether the papyrus read *αυτων* after *επι των μεταπων* with 046 2053 2351 W<sup>K</sup>; 0207 reads *επι του μεταπου αυτων*. N A P read *επι των μεταπων* without *αυτων*.

50 *βασανισθω[σιν]*: so 046 2351 W<sup>K</sup>; *βασανισθησονται*: N A P and many minuscules.

51 and 57 The traces are too exiguous to attempt any reconstruction.

61 The omission of *ως θαρακας* (so 0207. 1006. 1611 *ρς* Lvt (gig)) would give too short a line.

64–65 *κεντρα και [εν ταις ουραις αυτων η εξουσια αυτων]*: so W<sup>A</sup> N A P 046 (0207) 2053 (2344 2351); *κεντρα ην εν ταις ουραις αυτων και η εξουσια αυτων* (1854) W<sup>A</sup>; *κεντρα εν ταις ουραις αυτων εξουσια εχουσιν του W<sup>K</sup>*.

66 *μνρας* ]ε: the expected supplement would be *μνρας πεντε εχουσιν*. Before the epsilon of *επ αυτω*(ν) there is almost certainly another epsilon, which does not have a dash over it and therefore is not ε̄ for *πεντε*. *πεντε* in full would only be possible if we assume the omission of *εχουσιν*. This is unattested and would in any case make the line rather short; reading *εχουσι μνρας πεντ]ε* would make it rather long. Perhaps the papyrus read ε followed by *εχου]ε* for *εχουσαι*; cf. *αχου]σαι* on page 15, line 93. *εχουσαι* is the reading of 046 W<sup>K</sup>. There are, however, no other attested final itacisms of ε for αι.

66–67 *επ αυτω]*[*βασιλευ*: so W<sup>A</sup> A P and many minuscules, vg bo; *εαυτων του βασιλευ* N 0207; *βασιλευ επ αυτων* 046 and many minuscules, sy.

67–68 Below *μαου*, τω is clearly visible. It seems certain that the fragment belongs to the lowest right part of the text. *επ αυτω*(ν) in line 66 must be the end of a line (as the dash for the final nu proves). However, between this and the first word of the next page (of which the top line is preserved), *εβραις*[*ετι*, the expected text, *βασιλευ τον αγγελον της αβυσσου ονομα αυτω*, would exactly fill *one* line, not two. Should we therefore assume that τω is part of the last word *αυτω* and that the earlier part of line 68 was blank? The distinct way in which the scribe made the initial tau (with a prolongation of the bottom part of the vertical to the left; see for example the tau of τω in line 99) might suggest that here tau is at the beginning of the line, as if the scribe copied his text in an already bound codex (with no possibility of extending the line further to the right). Possibly he wanted to keep the same number of lines to the page as in the original from which he was copying. This, however, would be rather odd, and in principle it ought not to have been very difficult for a scribe to add only two letters between the margin and the binding. The alternative is to suppose that the scribe copied line 67 again by mistake, perhaps misled by *επ αυτω* in the previous line. He might have started again with *βασιλευ* and on this occasion finished the line with *αυτω*.

There is insufficient room for the papyrus to have followed A in reading *βασιλευ τον αρχοντα της αβυσσου τον αγγελον ονομα αυτω*.

67–69 The variants are: *ονομα αυτω εβραις* A P 046 and most other MSS; *ω ονομα αυτω εβραις* N; *ω ονομα εβραε]ιστι* W<sup>A</sup> 2344. The papyrus did not omit *αυτω*; whether it omitted ω is uncertain.

Pages 15–16: Fr. (j) to (l)

Three fragments belonging to the same leaf. After (j) several lines are lost. Between (k) and (l) there is a gap of almost 2 cm. These fragments provide us with the most useful information about the format of the codex. The first and last lines of the page are preserved as well as some of the margins: 2 cm on the left, 1.5 cm on the top and 0.5 cm on the lower margin of ↓. The page probably had 34–35 lines on each side. The average number of letters to the line is 34 on ↓ and 37–38 on →.

↓

70 *εχει ο Α*[*πολλων*]: the letter after omicron is damaged to the right, but alpha is almost certain. It is not possible to read *εχει ο[νομα Απολλων* (so W<sup>A</sup> N 2344) instead of the majority reading *ονομα εχει Απολλων*. The number of letters to the line also excludes this alternative reading. The insertion of the article is supported only by a few minuscules and versions: Hoskier II 247 notes his pairs 81–204 [2038, 2595 Gregory-Aland] and 288–9 [1746, 1740 GA], and 250 [1248(!) GA] (the last three from his Complutensian family); *sah boh* ('He who destroyeth') *am* 4.

71 *ερχεται*: so W<sup>A</sup> N\* A *ρς*; *ερχονται* N<sup>1</sup> 046<sup>c</sup> 0207 2053 2344 W<sup>A</sup>. The line as restored is probably too long, but the omission of *μετα ταυτα* (so 2053<sup>24</sup>; Prim) would make it too short. The papyrus may have had one of the other attested omissions, either *και* (so W<sup>A</sup> N 2344), or *ετι* (so 046<sup>8</sup> W<sup>A</sup>), or *εκτος* may have been written ε' (as it is in W<sup>A</sup>).

72–73 *μων εκ των δ*[*κερατων*]: there would not have been room for *τεσσαρων* to have been written in full, but in any case it is usual in this papyrus for cardinal numbers to be written as figures. It is therefore impossible to say whether the papyrus had *μων εκ των τεσσαρων κερατων* with P 046 W or whether it omitted *τεσσαρων* with W<sup>A</sup> N<sup>1</sup> A 0207. 2053. 2344 (the phrase is omitted in N\*).

74 The number of letters to the line suggests that in this already short line *εκτω* was not omitted (as in A 0207) nor written as a figure.

75 It is possible that the papyrus omitted δ with W<sup>A</sup>.

76–77 *επι του ποταμου του μεγαλου Ευφρατη*: *επι του ποταμου του μεγαλου Ευφρατου* W<sup>A</sup>.

77 *ελυθ[ησαν*: spacing suggests that *ελυθ[ηθησαν* (so A) is less likely.

78 *εκ της [ωραν και ημεραν*: so W<sup>A</sup> A P W<sup>A</sup> vg; *και ημεραν* is omitted by N *ρς*. The omission would give too short a line; *εκ της ωραν και εις την ημεραν* (so 046. 2351 W<sup>K</sup>) is probably too long.

90–91 ]*των*: all MSS except W<sup>A</sup> read *στοματων αυτων*; W<sup>A</sup> omits *αυτων*. The papyrus could have had either reading.

91 *η γαρ εξουσια*: the size of the lacuna would probably not permit *ην γαρ η εξουσια*, which is the reading of W<sup>A</sup>.

91–92 *εκ του στοματος*: this reading is not attested elsewhere. All other MSS read *εν τω στοματι*. There is no doubt the papyrus had *στοματος* and it therefore seems reasonable to supply *εκ του* before this, which exactly suits the space available.

*κ]αι εν ταις [ουραις αυτων*: so N A C P 046; omitted by W<sup>A</sup>.

93 *γαρ ουραι* [ *ο]φειν*: after *ουραι* there are traces of a curve, probably belonging to an alpha or omicron. The expected reading is *ουραι αυτων ομοιαι* (or *ομοιαι 2053 ρς*) *οφειν*, but there does not seem to be space for two words between *ουραι* and *οφειν*. C\* omits *ομοιαι*.

*αχου]σαι* (l. *εχου]σαι*): so most of the MSS. *εχουσαι* N(\*) P 2053 *αι εχουσιν* C\*. There are some traces of ink above αι which might be read as ε.

95 There is insufficient space for the papyrus to have followed W<sup>A</sup> in inserting *αυτων* before *ταυτας*. ουδε: also possible is ου, the reading of C 2351 W<sup>K</sup>.

97 *προσκυνη]σεν*[*ει*: *προσκυνησων* W<sup>A</sup> N A C *ρς*; *προσκυνησων* P 046 W. It is probable that the omega is in the first hand.

97–98 *και τα]**ειδω[λα*: omitted by W<sup>A</sup>. Compared to the previous line (34 letters) and the next one (33 letters), line 98 is perhaps rather long (37 letters). The omission of *και τα χαλκα* (so W<sup>K</sup>), however, would make the line too short.

99 The omission of τω before *ξυλινα* (so W<sup>A</sup> W<sup>Bvid</sup>) would probably give too short a line.

99–100 *δυ]νανται*: so W<sup>B</sup> N A C P 046<sup>8vid</sup>; *δυναται* W<sup>A</sup> 1611 W<sup>K</sup>.

102 *φαρμα]κων*: this is the reading of W<sup>A</sup> N C W<sup>K</sup>, but A 046 2053 2344 2351 W<sup>A</sup> read *φαρμακειων*. Either could have been the reading of the papyrus.

103 *ου]τε εκ των κλεμματος αυτων*: omitted by W<sup>A</sup>.





- 183 ο ἄγγελος: A omits ο, but the supplement would still be too long unless *εβδομος* was written as a figure (as it is in  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ ).
- 184 ληγοναι: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  C P 051 2344  $\mathfrak{W}^A$ ; λεγοντες A 046 2053 2351  $\mathfrak{W}^K$ .
- 194 κληροσ: C reads κληρος.
- 197 τοις αγιοις και τοις φοβου[μ]ενοις: so  $\mathfrak{N}$  C P 046; τοις αγιοις και τους φοβουμε[ν]ους  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ ; τοις αγιοις τοις φοβουμενοις 051. 1. 1854 *α*; τοις αγιοις και τους φοβουμενους A (2351) *β*.
- 198 τους μικρους και τους μεγαλου[σ]: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}^*$  A C 2344 2351 *β*; τους μικρους και τους μεγαλους  $\mathfrak{N}^2$  P 046  $\mathfrak{W}$ .
- 199 διαφθειρον γ' α: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  A 046; διαφθειραντας C 051 2344 *β*; φθειροντας P 1. Although the fibres of the papyrus are damaged, it seems that the scribe forgot the tau and later inserted it between nu and alpha.
- 200 ο ε[ν]: so A C P; ο is omitted by  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  046 051  $\mathfrak{W}$ . The supplement at the left is short, but no doubt a gap was left before και at the start of a new verse.
- 201 The supplement is again short and it would make little difference if the papyrus read εδοθη with C for ωθη.
- 202 Instead of the first αυτου the papyrus may have read του π̄ν with  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  2344  $\mathfrak{W}^K$  or του θ̄ν with  $\mathfrak{N}$ , but all these readings imply a rather long supplement. Possibly the scribe omitted the first αυτου (so Prim.).
- 202–203 After εγενοντο the expected text is αστραπαι και φωναι και βρονται. But phi seems fairly clear on the papyrus and the letter is certainly not alpha. Spacing requires more than just φωναι και βρονται. Probably the papyrus altered the word order, and read either φ[ωναι και αστραπαι και βρονται]; or φ[ωναι και βρονται και αστραπαι].
- 203 ε[ναι] ε[μ]ερος: so  $\mathfrak{N}$  A C P; omitted by 046  $\mathfrak{W}^K$ .
- 208 [β]: the left end of a supralinear bar can be seen. There would be room for και after this at the end of the line, but it is more probable that it stood in the next line, now lost. This line is more likely to have been at the foot of this page rather than at the top of the next.

## Pages 19–20: Fr. (p) to (s)

The leaf may have had 37 lines on both ↓ and →, but this is uncertain as both top and bottom margins are lost. The average number of letters to the line is 31 on ↓ and 30 on →. Part of a left and of a right margin is visible in fr. (p). The lateral position of fr. (r), and in consequence that of fr. (s), is uncertain; on fr. (s) see further lines 237–238 n.

- 211–212 The papyrus could have read either πυρ[η]ρος (so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  2053) or πυρος (so C 046). μεγας πυρος is read by A P 051, and μεγας πυρος by 2351 and a few other witnesses.
- 213 The papyrus is not likely to have agreed with  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  in omitting αυτου.
- 214 The supplement is somewhat long and no variants are attested. It is again likely that the scribe wrote γ' for τριτον (cf. page 13, line 13).
- 216 The MSS are divided between εστηκεν ( $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  A P 046 and most of the minuscules), εστηκει (C) and εστη (14, 92). It is most probable that the papyrus read ιστηκει for the pluperfect ιεστηκει.
- 217 We expect μελλοντες τεκειν ινα οταν τεκη το τεκνον αυτης, which is too long and there are no attested omissions. Possibly the papyrus omitted οταν τεκη.
- 230 ] . [ : the traces are too faint for any attempt at reconstruction.
- ο[μ]ω[ω]: the suprascript bar is no longer preserved.
- 231 [ο οφικ ο] μ[ε]γας ο αρχαιοις: so 1006. 1841 *β*; ο μεγας ο οφικ ο αρχαιοις: most MSS; ο μεγας οφικ:  $\mathfrak{N}$  *β*; ο οφικ ο μεγας  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ .
- 232 και Κατανας  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ .
- 233 γην κ[α]: the traces are very faint, but the small serif of the vertical to the left suggests kappa. There is a space between the nu of γην and the following vertical, although we are not at the start of a verse.
- 233–4 αγγελιοι αυτου μ[ε]τ αυτου: first αυτου omitted by  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  and μετ αυτου omitted by 051  $\mathfrak{W}^A$ .
- 237–238 The expected reading is η εξουσια (ωστηρια  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ ) του χ̄ρν̄ (π̄ν C) αυτου, which is much too short. The possibility has been considered of moving the tiny fragment (s) to the left to join with the trace below the ε of βασι[λ]εια, reading αυτ[ω]; but this does not suit the following line nor the suggested reconstruction of the → side (lines 275–276), and, most importantly, it does not fit well physically at this point on the ↓ side.

- 238–239 The papyrus may have agreed with  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  and C in reading *κατηγορος* for *κατηγωρ* and with C in reading αυτου for αυτου.
- 240 ημε[ε]ρα: the traces are very faint. If these are well read and (s) has been placed correctly (see above), it is likely that the papyrus included ημων after του θεου with the majority of MSS, and did not omit it with 1 *al*.
- 
- 247 καιρ[ο]ν: the traces are very faint and the reading is only tentative.
- 248 ο δρακον οτι εβληθη: this is the reading of  $\mathfrak{N}^*$  and most MSS; οτι εβληθη ο δρακον  $\mathfrak{N}^2$ .
- 250–251 τη γυναικι δυο πτερυ[γ]ες: this is the reading of  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  (πετερυγας)  $\mathfrak{N}$  046. 2344  $\mathfrak{W}^K$ . A C P 051 2053  $\mathfrak{W}^A$  add αι after γυναικι. Since the sequence alpha-iota would probably have preserved part of the tail of the alpha linked to the iota, the papyrus is likely to have omitted αι, which also suits the spacing better.
- 251 The supplement at the left seems too long for the line. Omitting του in του λεον (so  $\mathfrak{N}$ ) would help, although the supplement is still long.
- 253 και ημις και[ι]ρου: omitted by C.
- 254 εκ: απο  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ .
- 256 The supplement expected is ποταμον ινα αυτην ποτα-, which is much too short. It does not help to read αυτην for αυτη with 051  $\mathfrak{W}^A$ . C reads ινα ποιησ αυτην ποταμοφορητον. This would solve the problem in line 256, but it would leave the next line too short (unless we suppose that there was a repeat of ποιησ in the papyrus).
- 258 The papyrus probably read η γη το στομα.  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  omits η γη.
- 268 Instead of ονοματα the papyrus may well have read ονομα with  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  and C.
- 269 The supplement at the right seems too long, but no omissions are attested.
- 270 λεοντο[σ]: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  A C P 046; λεοντων  $\mathfrak{N}$  2351 *β*.
- 273 εκ τω κεφα[λ]ων: this is the reading of  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  A C P; εκ is omitted by 046\* 2053  $\mathfrak{W}^A$ . It seems that the correction was made by the scribe himself.
- 273–274 Between αυτου and ε[ν]ε we expect simply ωε εσφαγγμενη, but there is room for some 16 letters; reading ω[ε]ι for ω[ε], with 046 and many minuscules, does not entirely solve the problem.
- 274–275 π[λ]η[γ]η: the lambda is doubtful, but π[λ]η[γ]η is what we expect at this point.

## Pages 21–22: Fr. (t) to (w)

Four fragments from a new leaf. Between fr. (t) and fr. (u) there is a gap of 0.5 cm, and one of 1 cm between fr. (v) and (w). There is a 0.7 cm margin visible on the left-hand side. As the top and bottom margins are lost we do not know where the pages began and ended, though it is quite likely that the leaf had 36 lines on each side. The lateral position of (u) is uncertain; see line 292 n. The average number of letters to the line is 34 on ↓. On →, however, the number of letters is more difficult to determine for it seems to be rather variable in comparison with the expected text (between 28 and 36 letters). An average of about 33 letters per line is perhaps the most likely.

- ↓
- 284–285 και τη[ν] κερη[ν] αυτου: omitted by C.  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  omits τους και κερηουτας.
- 286–287 και εδοθη αυτω ποιησαι πολεμον μετα των [α]γων και νικησαι αυτους: this is the reading of  $\mathfrak{N}$  046 051 2344 2351 ( $\mathfrak{W}^K$ ); omitted by  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  A C 2053  $\mathfrak{W}^A$ .
- 288 Spacing indicates that the papyrus did not omit και λαον with  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  051  $\mathfrak{W}^A$ . It may have agreed with C in reading λαου for λαον.
- 290–291 το[σ] ο[μ]ω[ω]ι: so 046  $\mathfrak{W}$ ; το ονομα αυτου A C 2053 *β*; το ονομα αυτων 1611 *β* sy<sup>b</sup>; τα ονοματα  $\mathfrak{N}^2$  P 051 *α*; τα ονοματα αυτων  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}^*$ .
- 291 εν τ[ω] βιβλω: this is the reading of A P 051  $\mathfrak{W}$ ; the papyrus could also have read εν τω βιβλω with  $\mathfrak{N}^2$  or εν τη βιβλω with  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ , but not εν βιβλω with  $\mathfrak{N}^*$ , εν βιβλω with C, or επι τω βιβλω with 046.
- 292 [εσφαγγμενο]ν: the reading is very uncertain as only the tail of an upright survives. This could equally be part of, e.g., the kappa of καταβολης, in which case the fragment would need to be realigned slightly to the right.
- 293 A 2351 read εις αιχμαλωσιαν εις αιχμαλωσιαν. It is most likely that the papyrus omitted at least one of the two occurrences of εις αιχμαλωσιαν (so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  C P 046, 051  $\mathfrak{W}$ ), for even so the line is rather long.
- 294 The papyrus may have agreed with  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  C in reading αποκτενει δει for αποκτανθησαι.
- 298 ε[λ]α[λ]ει: so most authorities; λαλει (so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ ) is less likely because of spacing.

304 All other witnesses include *εκ του ουρανου* either before or after *καταβαινεν*. It is likely that the papyrus omitted the phrase, since otherwise the line would be too long. No omissions are attested elsewhere.

It is unlikely that the papyrus agreed with  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  in reading *ποιηθη* for *ποιη*, and it did not agree with it in reading *καταβηται* for *καταβαινεν*.

306 308 *δια τα σημεια ... κατοικουσιν επι της γης* is omitted by 046\* sy.

308 *της γης ποιησαι* so most authorities; *της γης και ποιησαι*  $\mathfrak{N}$ .

308–309 *την πληρην της μαχαιρας*: so A C P; it is impossible to tell whether the papyrus omitted *την* with  $\mathfrak{N}$  (which reads *πληρης*) and  $\mathfrak{W}^{\text{R}}$ . It did not read *πληρην και εζησεν απο της μαχαιρας* with 046 2351  $\mathfrak{W}^{\text{R}}$ .

310 *αυτου*: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}^{\text{B}}$  046. 051  $\mathfrak{W}$ ; *αυτη* A C P<sup>ms</sup>.

310 *δουνα*: C omits.

311–312 The average number of letters to the line suggests that the papyrus omitted *να* before *οσοι* with  $\mathfrak{N}$  2351  $\mathfrak{W}$ . It is included by A P 2344 *al*. C omits the words from *και ποιηθη* *οσοι* *το του θηριου* (homoioteleuton).

→

323 After *εστιν* most witnesses read *και ο αριθμος αυτου* followed by the figure 616 or 666. C P 051  $\mathfrak{W}^{\text{A}}$  read *και ο αριθμος αυτου εστιν*.  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  reads simply *εστιν δε*, and  $\mathfrak{N}$  omits the phrase. It is not possible to read *εστην* or *εστη* in the papyrus. Eta is certain and has a horizontal bar above it. If this is a deletion mark, it could explain the short supplement. The slight trace before eta would suit kappa.

323: so C 11 (*εξακοσια δεκα εφ* 5 (χίς))  $\Upsilon$ yc, and some lost texts criticised by Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* 5.30.1), as well as the Ps.-Augustine homilies on the Apocalypse (*PLXXXV* 2437); *εξακοσια* (or *-cia* or *-cia*) *εξηκοντα εφ* is read either in full or as figures by  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  A 051 2053<sup>rd</sup>  $\mathfrak{W}$ ; *εξακοσια εξηκοντα πεντε* 2344.

324 *το ορο[ς]*: *το* is omitted by C.

325 The omission of *κιων* (so C) would make the line too short, and the addition of *αριθμος* after *αυτου* (so 046  $\mathfrak{W}^{\text{R}}$ ) would make it too long, unless *κιων* is omitted.

326–327 *αυτου γε[γραμμενον]*: so most authorities; *αυτου το γεγραμμενον* A. The supplement in line 326 is slightly long, but it is very unlikely that *το* came at the end of line 325. The omission of *αυτου* *και το ονομα* (so P 1) would make the supplement too short.

330 *ω[ς]*: omitted by P  $\mathfrak{W}^{\text{A}}$ .

The papyrus does not doubt agree with  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  2053 in adding *φωνη* before *κιθαραδων*, as otherwise the supplement would be too short.

332 The supplement is uncertain. C omits *αυτων*, and before *ωδην* A C 051  $\mathfrak{W}^{\text{A}}$  add *ως*, which is omitted by  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  P 046 2053 2344  $\mathfrak{W}^{\text{R}}$ . Spacing suggests that the papyrus is most likely to have read the supplement suggested in the text, but it is possible that it agreed with C in omitting *αυτων* and including *ως*.

333 *ενοπιον των τεσσαρων ζωνων*: the supplement would be too short if *τεσσαρων* had been written in numerical notation (for the lack of consistency in writing figures see also page 20, line 250).

334 *και των πρε[εβντερων]*: omitted by C. The addition of *ενοπιον* before *πρεβντερων*, attested by  $\mathfrak{N}$ , would make the line too long.

335 It is unlikely that the papyrus agreed with C in adding *αι* before *χιλιαδες*.

341 The papyrus no doubt followed most MSS in reading *εν τω στοματι αυτων ουχ[ε] ευρεθη ψ[ευδος]*. It did not read *ουχ ευρεθη εν τω στοματι αυτων ψευδος* with 046  $\mathfrak{W}^{\text{R}}$ .

342 *λον ιδον* (I. *ειδον*) *αγ[γ]ελου*: the attested sequence is either *και ειδον αλλον αγγελου*, so  $\mathfrak{N}^{\text{A}}$  A C P 051 2053, *οι και ειδον αγγελου*, so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}^{\text{B}}$  046  $\mathfrak{W}$ .  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  adds *γαρ* after *αμωμοι*, but this does not help to solve the difficulty. Possibly the scribe wrote *ιδον αλλου*.

344 *εναγγελισαι* is read by most MSS. There is no room for *εναγγελισαθαι* with  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$ . After this most MSS insert *επι*; it is most probable that the papyrus agreed with 046 051  $\mathfrak{W}$  in omitting it.

344–345 *τους κατοικουντας*: so A 051; *τους καθημενους*  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  C P 046 and most other MSS; *καθημενους τους κατοικουντας*  $\mathfrak{W}^{\text{A}}$ , which is certainly too long. It is likely that final *nu* was indicated by a suprascript bar in both these lines.

346 *εν φωνη*: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  C P 046 and most MSS; *εν* is omitted by A.

347 *δ[ι]στε αυτ[ω]*: the omicron in *δ[ι]στε* is not clear, but alpha for *δοξασατε αυτον* (so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ ) is not likely and spacing is against it.

349 *τω ποιησαντι*: there is insufficient space for *τω θω[ν] τω ποιησαντι*, the reading of 2329 Lvt (gig).

350 The supplement *και θαλασσαν* suits the space better than *και την θαλασσαν*, the reading of  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  046 051 2053  $\mathfrak{W}^{\text{R}}$  (unless *και* before *την γην* came at the end of line 349). It is likely that the *nu* of *υδατων* was represented by a suprascript bar.

Pages 23–24: Fr. (x) to (z)

Fragments from the following leaf. The average number of letters to the line is 30 on ↓ and 34 on →. The upper part of fr. (x) ↓ is very damaged, but there are traces of three lines, which probably belong to the beginning of the page. Between fr. (x) and (y) there is a gap of 0.5 cm. The lateral position of fr. (z) is uncertain.

↓

358–359 *βασανιθη[ς]εται*: so  $\mathfrak{N}$  C P 046; *βασανιθησονται* A.

359–360 *ενοπιον αγγελου[α] [γ]ω[ν]*: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  C P and some minuscules; *ενοπιον των αγγων αγγελου* 046  $\mathfrak{W}^{\text{R}}$ ; *ενοπιον των αγγελων* A. The supplement expected in line 360 between *ενοπιον* and *βασανιθησονται* is *του αρμου και ο καπος του*; this is too long, but there are no omissions attested.

361 *ε[ι]ς αιωνας αιωνων*: this is the reading of A 046 and most of the MSS. P 051 *al* read *εις αιωνα αιωνων*; C *pe* read *εις αιωνα αιωνος*. It is quite possible that the papyrus added the article *των*, reading *εις αιωνας των αιωνων* with  $\mathfrak{N}$ .

363 If *και* is right, as it appears to be, the papyrus must have had some unattested variant or mistake before it, as the supplement *ημερας* is insufficient to fill the space. If *παυειν* is moved down to this line, line 362 is too short.

374 The traces are too slight for any attempt at reconstruction.

377–378 *εκ του [ναου] [κραζων]*: so most of the MSS; *κραζων εκ του ναου* A; *εκ του ουρανου κραζων* 051. 2053  $\mathfrak{W}^{\text{A}}$ . Since *ουρανου* would have been written  $\omega\upsilon\omega\upsilon$  it would have occupied much the same space as *ναου*. As the supplement between these lines is short, it is also possible that the papyrus read either *εκ του ναου αυτου κραζων* with  $\mathfrak{N}$  or *εκ του ναου ανακραζων* with  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  (which omits *εν* following).

379 Before *πεμψ[ε]* there is a vertical line with a curl at the top which seems to be a mark of some sort rather than a letter.

380 *ηλθεν η ωρα*: so A C P 046 and most MSS. The papyrus did not read *ηλθεν σου η ωρα θεριμα* (so 051  $\mathfrak{W}^{\text{A}}$ ) or *εξηλθεν ο θεριμος* (so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ ), and probably did not read *η ωρα του θεριμου* (so  $\mathfrak{N}$  *pe*) or *η ωρα του θεριμα* (so 2053 *al*). The *eta* was probably added by the corrector.

381 *θεριμος*: *ης* |: the trace visible before *ης* could be part of either gamma or tau. The papyrus could have read either *θεριμος της* *γης* [ or *θεριμος*] *της γης*.

→

391 *α[υ]τη[ς]*: the traces are very faint but the reading, which is that of most MSS, seems possible. *ηκασεν η σταφυλη της γης* is read by 046  $\mathfrak{W}^{\text{R}}$ .

392–393 *εις την [γην]*: so A C P 046 and most other MSS; *επι της γης*  $\mathfrak{N}$ ; *επι την γην*  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ .

394 *τον με[γ]α*: so A C P 046 and many other MSS; *την μεγαλην*  $\mathfrak{N}$  2053 *al*; *του μεγαλου*  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  *pe*.

396 *αχ[ρ]η*: *μεχρι*  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ .

397  $\overline{\text{B}}$ <sub>χ</sub>: this reading does not seem to be attested elsewhere. *χιλιων εξακοσιων*, in full or in figures, is the reading of  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}^{\text{A}}$  A C P 046  $\mathfrak{W}^{\text{R}}$ ; *χιλιων διακοσιων*  $\mathfrak{N}^{\text{B}}$  *pe* sy<sup>ms</sup>; *χιλιων πεντακοσιων* Lvt (gig); *χιλιων εξακοσιων εφ* 2036.

412 *εφαν[ε]ρωθη[σαν]*: the papyrus is not likely to have read *εφανερωθη* with  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ .

418  $\overline{\delta}$  *ζωνων*: the end of the supralinear bar over the lost numeral is visible. *ζωνων* is omitted by  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ .

J. CHAPA

#### 4500. REVELATION XI 15–16; 17–18

34 4B.73/G(5–7) (a)  
0308

4.8 × 5.9 cm

Fourth century  
Plates I–II

This parchment fragment of the Apocalypse is from the inner top of a small single-column codex leaf. The scribe uses a mannered, clear, seriffed, round hand, written in a carbon ink. The letters are 2–2.5 mm high and largely bilinear. There are no signs of rulings or prickings, which is surprising as the scribe is extremely skilled. The script closely resembles that of 0171 (PSI I 2+II 124+P. Berol. inv. 11863), leaves of a

parchment codex of Matthew and Luke found at Hermopolis Magna. E. Pistelli dated them to the fourth century, Kurt Treu to c. AD 300. P. Amh. II 24, a parchment leaf of Demosthenes is also in a similar hand; this is assigned to the second half of the fourth century in Cavallo and Maehler, *GBEP* 13c.

The page originally contained 14 lines, giving a written area of c. 6 × 6.5 cm. The surviving inner margin is 1 cm wide and 0.5 cm remains of the top margin, so that the original page cannot have been less than 8 × 8 cm. **4500** may be compared in particular with another parchment codex of Revelation assigned to the fourth century, VIII **1080** = 0169 = Turner 163, NT Parch. 108. This has a page size of 7.8 × 9.5 cm and also has 14 lines to the page with identical line-spacing. The hand, however, is quite different from **4500** and they are not part of the same codex.

No use is made of breathings or punctuation. On the flesh side the following *nomina sacra* occur:  $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$  (line 2) and  $\overline{\chi\rho\upsilon}$  (line 3);  $\overline{\theta\upsilon}$  is supplemented in line 7. In line 6 the number 24 is expressed by the cypher  $\overline{\kappa\delta}$ .

The only papyri which contain these verses are P. Chester Beatty III =  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ , dated to the later third century by F. G. Kenyon, and **4499** above. In addition to the works cited in the general introduction H. C. Hoskier, *Concerning the Text of the Apocalypse: Collations of all existing available Greek Documents with the Standard Text of Stephen's Third Edition* (London 1929), has been consulted.

## Flesh side

	] η βασιλει[α του κοc]	
	[μ]ου του $\overline{\kappa\upsilon}$ ημ[ων και]	
	[τ]ου $\overline{\chi\rho\upsilon}$ αυτο[υ και βασι]	
	λευκει ειc το[υc αιω]	
5	νας των αι[ωνων αμην]	
	και οι $\overline{\kappa\delta}$ πρ[εcβυτεροι]	16
	ενωπιον [του $\overline{\theta\upsilon}$ κα]	
	θημενο[ι επι τουc θρο]	
	νους α[υτων επεσαν]	
10	επι [τα προσωπα αυτων]	
	κ[αι	

## Hair side

	κ]αι ο ην και [οτι]	17
	[ειλη]φας την δυν[αμιν]	
	[σου] την μεγαλ[ηην]	
	[και εβ]ασιλευcας κα[ι]	

5	[τα εθν]η αργιcθηcα[v]	18
	[και ηλθ]εν η οργη σου	
	[και ο καιρ]οc των νε	
	[κρων κρι]θηται και	
	[δουнай τον μ]εθον	
10	[τοιc δουλοιc σου] και	
	[τοιc προφηταιc] και	
	[	

Flesh 1: η βασιλει[α: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}$  A C and most witnesses; αι βασιλειαι 1 al.

5 Spacing suggests that **4500** followed  $\mathfrak{N}$  2344 *be* in adding αμην after αιωνων, which other MSS omit.

6 οι  $\overline{\kappa\delta}$ : so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  and most MSS;  $\mathfrak{N}^*$  A 2053<sup>58</sup> omit οι.

6-7 πρ[εcβυτεροι] ενωπιον: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  A 046.  $\mathfrak{W}^A$ ; spacing suggests that **4500** did not add οι before ενωπιον with  $\mathfrak{N}$  C 051. 1611. 1854. 2053. 2329. 2344. 2351  $\mathfrak{W}^K$ .

7-8 καθημενοι[ι: so A 051. 1854. 2329. (2351)  $\mathfrak{W}^A$ ; καθηρται  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}^2$  C 1006. 1611. 1841. 2053. 2344 *be*; οι καθηρται  $\mathfrak{N}^*$   $\mathfrak{W}^K$ .

8-9  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  omits επι τουc θρονουc αυτων.

9 The papyrus probably did not add και before επεσαν with  $\mathfrak{N}$  1006. 1841 al.

Hair 1: 051. 1006. 1841 al. supported by bo, Tyc (Bea) add ο ερχομενοc after ο ην.

1-2 και [οτι ειλη]φας: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$   $\mathfrak{N}^*$  C 2344 *be*;  $\mathfrak{N}^2$  A  $\mathfrak{W}$  omit και.

3 μεγαλ[ηην]: so all MSS except  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  which has μενουcαν.

5 αργιcθηcα[v]: so  $\mathfrak{N}^*$  A and nearly all MSS; αργιcθη  $\mathfrak{N}^*$ ; αργιcθη  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ .

7 Cross-bar of epsilon extended as a space filler.

7-8 νε[κρων]: so  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$  and most MSS; εθνων 522. 617. 2020. 2027.

10 No other Greek witness has και at this point, but its inclusion is supported by h and sah. The expected text is μεθον τουc δουλοιc σου τουc προφηταιc και τουc αγιοιc και τουc φοβουμενοιc. In a comparable passage at Rev. x 7 most MSS read δουλοιc τουc προφηταιc, but  $\mathfrak{P}^{47}$ ,<sup>85</sup>vid  $\mathfrak{N}$  al add και after δουλοιc.

12 Only an indeterminate trace survives.

## II. EPIGRAM AND ELEGY

## 4501-2. EPIGRAMS: NICARCHUS II?

The Palatine Anthology ascribes various epigrams to 'Nicarchus'. Within these, Weisshäupl distinguished a poet who sounds hellenistic from a poet who, since he seems to imitate Lucilius, must be of Roman date: see Gow and Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* (1965) II 425. Since Lucilius worked (in Naples) under Nero, to whom he dedicated his second book (*AP* 9.572), scholars have tended to date this Nicarchus under the Flavians, and more specifically as a contemporary and model of Martial (K. Prinz, *Martial u. die gr. Epigrammatik* I (1911) 24 f.; W. Burnikel, *Untersuchungen zur Struktur des Witzeepigramms bei Lukillios und Martial* (1980) 110 ff.).

Some locate him on the spot, in Rome (Aubretou, Beckby); others make him an Egyptian (Schmid-Stählin II i 330; Keydell, *Kl. P.* IV 100). Clearly there would be no contradiction between an Egyptian origin and a Roman presence. So far, however, the 'Egyptian' features have proved less than decisive. (i) At *AP* 11.18.5 Nicarchus mentions Boubastis as goddess of birth. Herodotus (2.137.5) had already made the identification with Artemis; but the specific context here might suggest local knowledge. (ii) At *AP* 11.244.4 Nicarchus uses the word βαύκαλις, 'wine-cooler', which Athen. 11.784b, quoting Sopater δ παρρωδός (fr. 24 Kaibel), regards as Alexandrian; and in fact Philostorgius attests it as the nickname of a presbyter, and Epiphanius as the name of a church, in Alexandria (see Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*). The word and its derivatives occur sporadically in Egyptian documents, as a 'jar' of meat, wine etc. (see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* (1973) I 520-1; LIX 4002.7 n.); and in patristic texts (many but not all of Egyptian origin) from the fourth century on. To these Keydell added (iii) *AP* 11.243.2, where Onesimus takes his yearly bath δωδεκάτη Δύστρου μηνός ἐπ' Αντιφίλου. But this passage has nothing to do with Egypt. The Macedonian months did indeed continue to be used there, for decorative purposes (U. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 23 (1976) 143-67); however, documents were dated by regnal years, not by eponymous magistrates as in the epigram.

We now have three papyri from Oxyrhynchus which contribute to the discussion:

L 3725 includes *AP* 5.40 and 11.241, both ascribed to Nicarchus (II).

4501 imitates Lucilius *AP* 11.247 (or vice versa?)

4502 includes *AP* 11.328, ascribed to Nicarchus (II).

All three are written on the back of documentary texts, in informal hands assignable to the first or possibly early second century AD; all the themes, except 3725 fr. 1 ii 3-8, are or may be skoptic. Two of the pieces (3725, 4502) present individual titles (4502 not consistently); none names authors, which may or may not suggest a single authorship. It would be tidy to regard all three as part of the same MS, and attribute all the poems to Nicarchus II. But there are discrepancies. (i) Verso is written the same way up as Recto in 4501-2 and 3725 fr. 2, but not in 3725 fr. 1 (and fr. 3<sup>2</sup>). (ii) 4502 presents a

regular column of writing; 3725 too, allowing for its fragmentary condition, looks like continuous text. In 4501, however, we have two blocks of writing separated by a fourteen-line space. (iii) The hands of 4501 and 4502 are very probably the same (recto as well as verso); 3725 belongs to the same general type, but looser and less crabbed and different in some letter forms ( $\beta$  with two loops,  $\kappa$   $\mu$  and  $\omega$  less deep,  $\omicron$  smaller,  $\rho$  with longer stem). Some of these anomalies could be discounted: (i) may attest only a certain carelessness in making up a roll from used documents; (iii) may reflect the inconsistency of an amateur copyist. But I am at a loss to explain (ii). Certainly, this was not a substantive book-seller's copy, as the sloppy script and (in 4502) corrupt text prove; the writer knew enough to write a forked paragraphos in 4501, yet uses iota adscript indiscriminately in an effort to be correct. If it was a private copy, the oddities of format, the disparity of hands and the irregularity of headings count for less; and we could visualise a personal compilation of excerpts rather than the direct reproduction of an authorial collection (I have even wondered whether the central blank in 4501 was left to accommodate another epigram not yet excerpted). Such a compilation may have covered a wide range: 4502 groups epigrams on sexual themes, 4501 has a more innocent joke; in 3725, if that belongs, scatology follows direct on sentiment.

The papyri show that Nicarchus' work was circulating at Oxyrhynchus in the first century AD. The very fact that it reached there might speak for his Egyptian origin; though it must be said that there was a more general interest in the genre at this period (IV 662, XV 1795, LIV 3724; XLVII 3324 is earlier). The actual content of the new poems contributes little to the question. (i) 3725 fr. 2.8 ἐπι φουγγίσε? (title) need not refer to an Egyptian sphinx, as 4502 30-7 now shows. (ii) 4501 transposes the leaky ship joke from the sea to a river (5); plainly a substantial river, but the Nile is not the only candidate. (iii) 4502 41 λόγευμα is a word unattested in TLG, but known from documentary papyri; even so, it seems unlikely that a word of such regular formation would be confined to Egypt.

All the known poems in these papyri are by Nicarchus; the new poems may well be his too. The one known poem completely preserved, 4502 18-29, shows two substantial variants against the text transmitted as *AP* 11.328. Does the papyrus preserve an earlier version, *AP* a later (authorial) revision?

## 4501. EPIGRAM (NICARCHUS II?)

28 4B.58/J(1)a

14.5 × 12 cm

First century?  
Plate IX

On one side, written along the fibres, remains of two columns of cursive: apparently a register or the like (ii 4 and 5 begin with check-marks followed by ἀριθμῶ). On the other side, across the fibres but the same way up, fr. (a) offers a margin of 2 cm below a broken top edge, and then five lines of writing. Fr. (b) joins below, to give a blank



trace just below letter-tops, curving down at the left 8 ] . [ , first oblique in upper part of line sloping down to join upright; second top of upright

... he did not moor [the ship] and us in the harbour: he moored the harbour in the ship. Boy, what shipwright built this sieve? or who was the first to attach a rudder to this wooden river?'

1 Lines 2–5 can easily be restored as elegiacs. The first line might then be (i) part of the poem; or (ii) something extraneous. (ii) seems less likely. The writing coheres too closely with the poem to be just a doodle; its content, and its position (flush left), show that it was not a subject-heading of the kind found in 3725 and 4502. In favour of (i): *AP* 11.332, and the two corresponding epigrams of Lucillius, have six lines each. The length does not show whether the line was hexameter or pentameter; unless the scribe simply skipped, we should assume a pentameter (the hexameter at the foot of the preceding column).

*AP* 11.332 names the helmsman, and Lucillius addresses 11.247 to the naukleros (and presumably Diophantus in 11.245 has the same function): we therefore expect the name of the captain (who is the subject of 2–3) to appear in line 1 or 2 (or in the omitted verse, if there was one), presumably in the nominative. That leaves the question what to do with the possible vocative(s) in 1, and the vocative *παῖ* in 4: does *παῖ* refer to the (young or slave) helmsman, now addressed directly? or (say) to a slave who accompanies the narrating poet on his journey (2 *ἡμῶς* might include him)?

1 εχ. ευ. . . . [ : after χ, remains of a circular letter with ink in the middle? after ce, λ, or perhaps μ. (i) *ἐχθές* might suit the aorists which follow (and begins six epigrams in *AP*). But then υ seems certain: how to continue? (ii) *ἐχθε* cū. (iii) *ἐχθ(ρ)έ* cū (that would introduce a vocative, cf. 4, but requires us to assume a misspelling). (Note however that, among the examples in TLG, *ἐχθρέ* most often goes with a dative, as at Anaxipp. fr. 6.4 KA θεοτων ἐχθρέ cū, or with a genitive.)

If cū, then *εμῶν* ε[ (the nu would be wide)? *εμνοπρό* [ωπε? (The adjective now attested in Com. Adesp. 1105.180 KA; the verb in Aristophanes, *Nub.* 363.)

2 *επ*[ . . . . . ]a. We need a semantic equivalent of *τῆν ναῦν*; and, here or above, a nominative subject. One pattern would be *στρέ [ναῶν πᾶκτων]*a (or a ship's name: Greek ship names tend to be feminine, but there are exceptions; Roman ships are masculine as often as feminine: for lists, see L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship* (21995) 350–360; Michel Reddé, *Mare Nostrum* (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Fasc. 260) (1986) 665–72 (I owe this latter reference to Dr W. E. H. Coekle)).

3 ὠρμυεν, εἰς τῆ(ν) ναῦν δ' ὠρμυει] τ[ὸν λι]μένα. The conceit dictates this reconstruction, and the inscription of ν (easily skipped) is a small price to pay. In the latter part, there are some doubts. What is printed fits the overall space very well. The difficulty lies in fitting letters to traces between *δωρ* and *μνα*. Provisionally, I have taken the first visible trace to be the scuffed foot of τ, and discounted a dubious second trace (though that might be accommodated to λ).

4 *παῖ, τίς ἐναντήγγης*. Neither *καί* nor *ναί* suits the ink. *παῖ* presumes an address to someone—the speaker's slave, as in *AP* 11.35.6 *λάμβανε, παῖ?* (but how would he know the answers?) or the captain, young or slave (who might know the answers)?

*τίς*. Nothing visible of ι except an oblique trace at line-level, which I have taken as a left-pointing serif such as occurs elsewhere on the feet of uprights. It must be admitted that this would be a very substantial example. On the other hand, I do not see where else to go; α, which might have a prolonged oblique nose, would be too wide for the space.

—*πγγ*— must be meant, but gamma was not written: the trace is an oblique right-hand foot, flattening out to join the following η; λ is most suggested.

τὸ κ[ὶ]ο[κωνον]: a sieve, i.e. full of holes (so Lucillius applies the word to a boxer's head, *AP* 11.78). The proverb *κοκκῶν ἀνταίς* makes the point from the other side (examples collected by W. Bühler, *Zenobii Ahoii Proverbia* IV (1982) 300).

End: if κ[ὶ]ο[κωνον] is right, the next letter must be a vowel; traces perhaps feet of two uprights turning to the left, i.e. η, ι, not ε. ἢ *τίς* (or *τίς* c-; the trace excludes *τίς*) would take up the first *τίς*. Then the next letter too must be a vowel; the trace would allow ε or ο. As for grammar, we might look for another (aorist) verb; a nominative noun as at *AP* 16.142.5 ὦ, τίς ὁ τεχνίτης τόδε γ' ἔπλασεν ἢ τίς ὁ γλύπτης, θε κτλ.—and much else. ὁ *πρώτος* seems to suit the traces, and I suppose it might hint at the familiar curse on the *πρώτος*

ἐβερής. One thinks naturally of ὁ *πρωπεύς* (Professor Mandilaras had the same idea), as in *AP* 11.332.1, but it does not suit the traces.

5 *περιθεῖ*. If the context is rightly reconstructed, this should mean 'attaching a steering-oar to the wooden river'. The original sense is clearly 'put around': so of physical objects that enclose, a wreath (*AP* 6.341.30), a mask (11.212.3, Demades fr. 48, *de Subl.* 30.2.4), clothing (Chariton 4.3.7), fetters (Paus. 3.15.11). By extension, you may clothe someone with trust (Aesch., *FL* 103), fame or infamy (Thuc. 4.87.6, Aesch., *Clas.* 231, Isoc., *Phil.* 78), fortune or misfortune (Antiph., *Tetr.* 1.3.1, Aesch., *FL* 51), pride or grief (Plu., *Per.* 4.6, QS 2.610); rhetoric clothes small things with greatness (Isocr., *Paneg.* 8, Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1368<sup>b</sup>29). That leaves some usages with relatively concrete nouns: βασιλήτην (Hdt 1.129), ἀρχήν (Thuc. 8.43.4), ἐλευθερίην (*AP* VII 253), deeds (Aristox. fr. 130.7 'some attribute his deeds to Pisistratus') and words (ἄλεις. . . περιθεῖς μαγεῖρα τὸν λόγον (quotation) Athen. 9.386A; τοὺς λόγους ἐκάστους Theophr., *Mel.* 7a. 20). The first of these can be seen as a clear metaphor, 'investing with'; the last two perhaps show a weakening. But in any case I do not find a parallel for the verb referring to a concrete object which by its nature is not enveloping.

*AP* 11.247 (Lucillius) *πγγή* . . . ξυλίγη (a leaky boat), 15.18.4 (Anon.) ἐν ξυλίῳ σταδίῳ (draught board). As Dr Rea remarks, *ποταμῶν*, which seals the joke, is deliberately left to last. I assume that the word refers to a 'river' as such, not to something like the Homeric Ἐκκαῖος ποταμῶν.

Below: more ink, forked paragraphs.

6–8 This may or may not be verse. The remains correspond to the last third of the lines above.

6 ] , αμβανι. [ . The first trace would allow λ; that would point to (–)λάμβαν' (imperfect? imperative, cf. 4502 10?), then ι. [ (the trace perhaps a narrow left angle, α, δ?).

7 ] γατ. αν. [ : after τ, probably the left leg of λ; at the end perhaps the down-turning left-hand tip of a horizontal near the top. ἄλαστ[?

P. J. PARSONS

#### 4502. EPIGRAMS (NICARCHUS II)

103/164(a)

11 × 28 cm

First century?  
Plate X

A single column to full height, with 46 lines, written across the fibres; the top margin survives to 1.5 cm, the lower to 2.3 cm. On the back, and with the fibres (therefore on the original recto), are line-ends and beginnings (lower right) from an account; the beginnings have check-marks; at least some of the amounts are in drachmas and obols.

The hand looks to me the same as in 4501 (and Dr Coles is inclined to identify also the documentary hands on the rectos); see above p. 38 on a possible connection with 3725. It is a sloppy half-cursive written with a blotchy pen (the scribe sharpened it, or took a new one, before starting the new poem in 18). α and ε, γ and τ regularly ligature to the following letter. The effect is very roughly bilinear, except where the scribe reduces his letter-size at line-ends. Among letter-forms, note:

A sometimes rounded, sometimes sharp-nosed (the nose in one movement, the upper part often straight, the lower concave)

B always in the open-topped cursive form

*E* in two movements (the cap separate), sometimes in the cursive form (the cap curving down to ligature to a vestigial cross-bar), more often as the left-hand half of an oval or circle with the cross-bar detached and projecting to the right even when there is no ligature

*H* with the right side strongly curved and often written in one movement with the cross-piece

Θ at least twice with central dot

*K* often has the junction of the branches slightly separated from the upright

*M* the legs curved, the belly touching the line

*N* the oblique often projecting above the left-hand upright

*O* sometimes small (not filling the line-height)

*Π* with the right upright short and strongly curved

*P* the loop normally a descending curve joining a flat base

*T* often with the left-hand cross-piece written in one movement with the upright, the rest of the horizontal added more or less neatly to the right (the 'Ptolemaic' shape?)

*Y* sometimes at least the left branch and upright in one movement

*X* the right-hand extremities extended, flattening and curving, the upper down and the lower up

Ω sometimes narrow; the middle bar often sloping to the left, the right-hand bar added in a third movement.

There are no certainties in trying to date so informal a hand, even from this relatively large sample. Comparable literary scripts are XLVII 3324 (assigned i BC/i AD); LIV 3724 (first hand), LIII 3700, L 3522, XLII 3004, XIX 2221 + PKöln V 206 (all assigned to i AD); LXII 4306, L 3538 (both assigned i-ii AD). Comparable literary scripts which carry an objective date appear in *GLH* 9a and especially 10a ('first half of first century') and 10b (30-35); add PSI X 1176 (Norsa, *Scr. Lett.* pl. 11a) (before 59-60), PLitLond 6 + PRyl III 540 (Seider II 21) (before 88/9). Other dated documents from Oxyrhynchus with similar scripts: XLII 3020 (Augustan?), XLVI 3267 (c. 37-41), XXV 2435 (mid-i?), XLV 3250 (c. 63), XXXIV 2725 (71); from elsewhere BGU III 1002 (55 BC), PKöln III 147 (Augustus), WChr 59 (*PGB* 15b) (39), PMert I 12 (58), PSI 459 (Norsa, *Scr. Doc.* pl. 14) (72), PSI XIII 1319, second hand (Pintaudi, *Papiri greci e latini a Firenze* pl. XIV) (76).

I should compare this hand with that of 3020 and, among objectively dated parallels, with *GLH* 10a ('first half of first century') and 10b (AD 30-35)—though some of the same features still continue in 14 (*Paeans*), whose date falls in the second century. Overall, the grouping of distinctive letter-forms, and the general air of ineptness, seem to point to the first century and earlier rather than later. It must be admitted, however, that the second criterion is unreliable: how are we to tell whether 'ineptness' is a feature of style or of personal incompetence? It may be simple coincidence that all Roberts' examples look gawky; LVIII 3915 (AD 30, more or less contemporary with *GLH* 10b), or XLVII 3332 (53), or XLVI 3273, show that the same general forms could be displayed to much more elegant effect.

The scribe uses a wider line-space to set off the heading of a new poem (9, 38), but not to set off poems with no heading (18, 30); if there were paragraphi, they have been lost with the left-hand margin. No punctuation, no lectional signs; elision is effected but not marked. Iota adscript is written where needed (except perhaps in 6 *πειθης*), and frequently where it is not (8, 23, 28, 32, 35, 37, 41)—the would-be correctness of

the amateur? The general orthography is correct, except for a few itacisms. Yet the copy is careless to a degree, as becomes clear in 18-29, where we have also the text of *AP*: some of his errors might be phonetic (*ων* and *ον* confused), but many represent simple misreading (*καΙω* for *καΓω*, *Τολην* for *Πολην*, *νεκΤων* for *νεκΥω*). In 39 *μη* for *μνι* might belong to either type, but in any case ruins the sense.

At least five epigrams are to be recognised, all skoptic and indeed sexual. Of these two are introduced by a heading (9, 38), two follow straight on without title or spacing (18, 30):

1-8 [pederastic]

10-17 ἐπὶ γέροντος παρθένου [ν ἀγομένου]

18-29 = AP XI 328, Nicarchus (II) (*τριπορνεία*)

30-37 [pederastic]

39- ἐπὶ μοιχοῦ.

3725 too has titles, but consistently; it looks as if the omissions in 4502 are negligence on the part of the copyist (or of his source?). Such explanatory lemmata go back at least to *SH* 985 (iii BC). It is normally assumed that they are editorial; if that is so here, it adds a further stage between the authorial circulation of Nicarchus' poems and the making of our copy (unless indeed the copyist himself devised the headings). There is no trace of author-names. That does not prove unitary authorship, but the material and manner of the new epigrams allow, and perhaps recommend, a common attribution to Nicarchus. A complicating factor is the presence in 18-29 of what look like substantive author-variants.

top

]ναμη . πυγιζε . . . πεμμ . [

] . με . . ευρε [ ] ασαμφιβεβ . [

] . τεμ . . . . . ιπιθα . . . ε[

] ον . [ ] αιονκολλοπαυ[

5 ] . νυπνοντυ . . . . . εμεε . [

] ουδανπειθθησορ . . λε . [

] εωεικαμαρινανογαρτοσο[

] . οςεισηβηνηπικρονησιβε[

] . . . . . επιγεροντοσπαρθεν . [

10 ] . εν . . ωραια . μηλαμ . [ ] αυ[

] ελε . επλουτουκυπρισαμ . [

] ωνουζηλουσκαδακρυ[

] . υσκαυχλονκαπιπσαν[

] . εχεπευζωμοιστασελ . [

15 ] ψεισποιησειδαλλοσομη [ ]  
 ] αικοτυλαικαιοπλατυ [ ]  
 ] ρωπατη]υ]σηγαγονεισπεινι [ ]  
 ] μιανερμογενεικαιωποτεκαιιδιδ [ ]  
 ] νεεισκιω νκυπριναριστοδικη [ ]  
 20 ] αχομημενεγωτω ηγαλ αιεμε [ ]  
 ] ρεουπαντεςταυτ διειλαμε [ ]  
 ] γενηδελαχεστυγερωνδομονευρον [ ]  
 ] ατογεισαφανηχωρονυπερχομενος [ ]  
 ] κτ νεκτωνκαιερειωη μοεντος [ ]  
 25 ] νυταιπνοαιδυσκελαδ ενεμον [ ]  
 ] αδ θεσδιδυμαρχοσοουραγονεισανε αυ] [ ]  
 ] λο[.] . . . . . ενχειριτ . . . . . [ ]  
 ] ε ενξυνηπαντωνησθαθονγα εναν ηι [ ]  
 ] αν εκ[ ] τηγγραυνωδεδιειλομ[.] θα [ ]  
 30 ] αρρηγυτ διπουν . . . . . ουντετ [.] . . . . . επιγαγη [ ]  
 ] εισειχελεγειεστιδα[.] παθικος [ ]  
 ] οσεωσρεστηκεδιδουσαπερει [.] . . . . . υ εδε [ ]  
 ] χερασαμφοτερον κυβδαχαμαιτ [.] πους [ ]  
 ] αλλωιδαντωιδετριπουστο εφικιοναντ . . [ ]  
 35 ] ροπονενθηβαισειλησιονεστιλεπας [ ]  
 ] αντισδιελιτοσοφωτερονειτεθυπηρχον [ ]  
 ] δρεσεγωιθηβασεσχονανεπαυλου [ ]  
 ] επιμοιχου [ ]  
 ] τευεισμητυρονωνωχορτονμελιμην [.] [ ]  
 40 ] . . . . . ισειερικυκινυνπαιδαριουενφιδα [ ]  
 ] ατιονριγουντιθεατριωνητολογευμα [ ]  
 ] ευκυρ ασοφοφαγιλοπαδα [ ]  
 ] ε ατουμοιχουδιπνονδαμωροσαλεξι [ ]  
 ] υσαγεισαντουκαιτογυ . . . . . οναμα [ ]  
 45 ] ανεσταμεν . . . . . αχυνειδιαταυταδομο [ ]  
 ] οιτηγμο φηνητωπατριτωιδεπατρι [ ]  
 ] foot [ ]

1 η π, apparent vertical ink, too far left to belong to π (η; π?) ε, apparently broken horizontal continuing cross-bar of ε, remains of vertical below; then joining lower left-hand quadrant of circle? 2 ] μ,

possible traces on edge; μ likely, rather than λλ, αλ? ε, first αι, λι, possibly υ? second, left-hand arc, more ink to right, ε or ε, depending on the correct spacing of the fragments [ ], apparently upright with blob at top 3 ], upright, junction at bottom left μ, upright? then lower left-hand quadrant of small circle? . . . . . ε, part of small circle attached to upright on the left, ρ? (β never has this looped shape?); then tops of two upright elements and a vertical further to the right, ω? after ε, elements of η? 4 υ ], upright curving rightwards at base, probably first element of ω; perhaps space for one letter following (surface stripped), depending on the relative placing of overlapping edges 5 ], prima facie lower part of ο υ . . . . . first and second probably γι rather than π, since the second vertical is not curved; then traces of horizontal at line-level, hole above [ ], top of upright 6 ], upright joining high horizontal, concave ink to right, π or γ? 7 ], right-hand extremities of κ or χ? 8 ], to left, high ink on underfibres; then upright with ink joining it from the left at mid-height (single stroke? or right-hand junction of φ?) 9 υ ], blob of ink at half-height, adhering to the right-hand upright of υ, broken to right (probably part of next letter, not just casual) 10 ], horizontal trace at one-third height, touching back of ε υ . . . . . small left-hand arc, more upright ink after gap α, foot of upright, lower part of oblique descending from left to right 11 ε, upright with horizontal extending right-wards at top (γ, π) αμ, [ ], short upright trace on edge 13 ], υ, lower arc (trace on loose scrap, with more ink to left; transcript assumes that this scrap should be rotated downwards to the left by 90°, so that the initial ink provides the first trace of 14) 14 ], low horizontal trace; on the loose scrap, oblique descending from left to right? [ ], γ or first part of π 15 ], perhaps additional ink to bottom left of ψ (but fibres twisted) [ ], small left-hand arc 16 ], rising and descending obliques, α or λ or μ rather than δ? 17 ], small right-hand arc, ο or possibly ω? [ ], part of upright, possibly joining near top horizontal or descending ink to right 18 ], high oblique trace descending from left to right 19 υ, top and foot of tall upright, further upright trace to right [ ], remains of upright, perhaps oblique trace descending from its top 20 το, oblique rising from left to right, perhaps remains of another descending from its top, upright to the right λ, short oblique at line-level descending from left to right [ ], short upright, to right perhaps top and foot of oblique descending from left to right 21 ], perhaps lower left arc, on twisted fibres which need to be moved closer in τ, oblique descending from left to right, perhaps more ink to lower left ε, small oval letter, middle damaged; point of ink at line-level, perhaps another higher to right 22 ], right-hand arc of circle [ ], short high horizontal trace on the edge 24 ], horizontal at mid-height τ, small left-hand arc, more ink on damaged fibres to right η, parts of two uprights, damage between 25 ], horizontal trace touching top of υ δ, second, foot of upright, damage to right 26 δ, ink level with the letter-tops, hole below 27 ] λο, to left trace on tiny scrap attaching here but perhaps not belonging 28 ] ε, damaged fibres, then upright perhaps joined at foot by oblique descending from left α, lower part of upright υ, trace at two-thirds height 29 υ, ink level with the letter-tops, more to right touching ε at mid-level 30 τ, perhaps simply τ, the cross-piece of τ prolonged to the right (not π) υ, part of high horizontal and of vertical below; upper arc ου, upright curving rightwards at foot; to left, across a gap, possibly top of upright with horizontal extending to right [ ] . . . . . fourth, upright preceded perhaps by oblique sloping down from left to right; fifth, ink below hole at line-level, tip of horizontal joining ε at two-thirds height 31 ], upright trace on the edge, more ink (horizontal?) to middle left 32 ], horizontal from left joining top of ο? [ ], back and curving top as of ε [ ], the space may be less than it looks (the papyrus is warped) [ ], rising and descending obliques as of λ or second part of μ υ, elements of circular letter υ, small trace, upright or lower right of circle? 33 υ, upper and lower arcs of circular letter τ, first, back and lower arc of round letter, more ink in the middle? [ ], oblique descending gently to join π at two-thirds height 34 ], see commentary ο, foot of upright or oblique rising to right, then foot of upright joining horizontal ink at line-level τ, top of oblique descending from left to right, or upper right-hand arc; ink level with letter-tops, tip of horizontal or rising oblique from the left? 36 ], apparently right-hand branches of κ or possibly χ, but unexplained vertical ink running through (π?); not ε 39 ], oblique trace, rising gently from left to right, on promontory of papyrus projecting down from the line above 40 ], . . . . . second, apparently horizontal at mid-height joining upright to right 41 λο, omicron corr. from epsilon? 42 ], foot of oblique descending from left to right ρ, closed loop (ο), possibly ink inside (θ) 43 ], foot of oblique descending from left to right ε, ink clear; γ, or τ with cross-bar truncated to the left 44 ], shadowy traces of upright on damaged fibres υ . . . . . ink level with letter-tops (unless this belongs to υ), then perhaps foot of oblique descending from left to right joining foot of upright; rounded nose as of α;



upright on the edge 45 ν . . . , left-hand arc of circle (o, c); oblique trace rising from left to right at line-level; top of upright (unless this belongs with the previous trace), horizontal at two-thirds height rising gently and then levelling out to ligature with a [ , traces of tall upright on the edge 46 ] ο, apparently the claws of c, but some vertical ink remains unexplained; traces above ο, remains of a corrected or correcting letter? φ, oblique trace rising gently from left to right, more ink immediately to right, further right apparently foot of upright well below line; of φ the very top and perhaps the foot of the prolonged upright, and a short oblique trace to the right

. . . ]να μῆ { . } πύγιζε . . . πεμμ. [ . . . ] . με . . . εὔρε[ ] ας ἀμφιβεβ[ . . . ] . τεμ . . . c . ιπιθα . . . ε[ . . . ] ον ὠ[ρ]αίον κόλλοπαν[ . . . ] . ν ὕπνον πύγιζε μες [ . . . ] ουδανπεισθησop . . . λε [ μῆ] κ{ε}ίνει Καμάριναν· ὁ γὰρ τόπος[ - ∪ ∪ - - . . . ] . ος εἰς ἧ{ι}βην πικρὸν ἴησι βέ[λ]οc.

ἐπὶ γέροντος παρθένου[ν ἀγομένου

10 παρ]θένον ὠραίαν μῆ λάμ[β]αν[ε - ∪ ∪ - - μῆδ]ε λέγει 'πλούτου Κύπρις ἀμε[νότερον'. μῆδ'] ὄνω ζήλου καὶ δάκρυ[α - ∪ ∪ - - . . . ] . υc καὶ χυλὸν καὶ πικρὰν[την ∪ ∪ - μῆ]δ' ἔχ' ἐπ' εὐζώμοις τὰς ἐλπ[ίδας - ∪ ∪ - - . . . ] . ψειc ποιήσει δ' ἄλλοc ομη. [ ∪ ∪ - 15 . . . ] . αι κοτυλαίc καὶ ὁ πλατυ[ - ∪ ∪ - - . . . ] . ρcωπατρῆ[υ]c ἤγαγον εἰς πενή[ν].

(AP 11.328) τῆν] μίαν Ἐρμογένης κἀγὼ ποτε καὶ Διδύ[μαρχοc ἤγομ]εν εἰς κοινὴν Κύπριν Ἄριστοδίκην, 20 ἧc ἔλ]αχον μὲν ἐγὼ πολὴν ἄλα γαιέμεν [αὐτόc, εἰc γ]ὰρ ἔν, οὐ πάντεc ταῦτα διειλόμεθα, Ἐρμ]ογένης δ' ἔλαχε cτυγερόν δόμον εὐρώεντ[α ὕcτ]ατον εἰc ἀφανή{ι} χώρον ὑπερχόμενοc 25 ἔνθ'] ἀκταὶ νεκύων καὶ ἐρινεοὶ ἠγεμόντεc διν]εῖνται πνο{ι}αίc δυσκελάδων ἀνέμων, Ζῆν]α δὲ θεc Διδύμαρχον, θεc οὐρανὸν εἰcανεβαίν[ τὸ ψo]λό[εν] κατέχων ἐν χερὶ π . . . . .

γῆ δ' ἔμ]ερεν ξυνή{ι} πάντων· ψίαθον γὰρ ἐν αὐτῆι cτρῶ]σαντεc τὴν γραῦν ὦδε διειλόμε[ε]θα.

30 τῆν] ἀρχὴν τί δίπουν τερτράπουν τε τρ[ί]πουν τ' ἐπὶ γαίηι οὐ]θεις εἶχε λέγειν. ἔστι δ' α[ . . . ] παθικός. οὐ]τοc ἔωc ἔcτη{ι}κε, δίπouc· ἀπερειc[ά]μενοc δὲ . . . ]χεραc ἀμφοτέρουc κύβδα χαμαὶ τετ[ρ]άπouc. τῶι] φαλλῶι δαντωιδε τρίπouc το. εφικιοναυτ . . . 35 ὄν τ]ρόπον ἐν Θῆ{ι}βαιc πλησίον ἔcτι λέπασ. οὐ]κ ἄν τic διέλοιτο σοφώτερον· εἰ τόθ' ὑπήρχον, ἄν]δρεc, ἐγώ{ι}, Θῆ{ι}βασ ἔcχον ἄν ἐπταπύλουc[.]

ἐπὶ μοιχοῦ

πιc]τεύειc μὴ τυρόν, ὄνωι χόρτον, μέλι μῆν[ . . . ] [ 40 χηιcὶ cέρων, κυκὶν ὄν, παιδαρίοιc ὕφιδα, (εἰμ]άτιον ῥιγοῦντι, θεατρώ{ι}νηι τὸ λόγευμα, ἀθ]λεύ{ου}ci κρέαc, ὀψοφάγωι λοπάδα, θε] μετὰ τοῦ μοιχοῦ δ{ε}ἰπῶν Δάμωνοc, Ἄλεξι, ἐγ]γὺc ἄγειc αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ γύγαιον ἄμα. 45 . . . ] ἀνεcτάμενοc κακυνεί, διὰ ταῦτα δ' ὀμο. [ . . . ] . οι τὴν μομφὴν τῶι πατρὶ τῶι δὲ πατρὶ

1-8 Epigram I.

A pederastic epigram, probably complete: eight lines is a standard length; line 1 looks like a beginning, and is taken up by the closing joke in 7. It is true that there is a wider line-space between 2 and 3, as above and below headings; but the same happens between 15 and 16, which cannot be poem-end.

A negative *praecipitum amoris*, as in 10 ff. The poet apparently warns X not to bugger Y: the place, like Camarina, produces harmful discharges. If this overall interpretation is right, the new poem parallels the heterosexual 11.329. Not enough survives to show whether either or both parties had a name (11.329 identifies the addressee as Demonax, but no particular object of his affections).

The certain supplement in 7 shows that c. 3 letters are lost at the line-beginnings. But note that the hand is very irregular; e.g. omicron occurs in larger and smaller forms.

1 Hex. . . ]να μῆ πύγιζε τὸ πεμμ. [? or πύγιε' ἐπ[ί]πεμμ. [ ἐπ[ί] πεμμ. [? At the beginning, one could look for (i) a proper name like Αἴμο]να; (ii) a generic description like πομέ]να; (iii) μῆθ]ε]να (unpromising, if the two negatives cancel out). I have wondered whether the same name (if such it is) recurs in 2 -μενοc and 8 -ποc; but see below on the readings

πεμμ. [i: cakes? If so, how do they fit the context? The boy is well-fed, therefore flatulent (cf. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (1991) §§ 418, 425)?

Here or later, we need a vocative, and an object?

2 Pent. . . ] με . . . εὐρε[ ] [αc ἀμφίβεβ. [i. At the beginning, a short high trace on the edge; it would suit ε (but there is no trace of the cross-bar); κ, ε, τ (?), υ, χ. After με, perhaps α or λ (alpha would be untypically small?); but ν not excluded; then left-hand arc of circle, further ink to right but not much space (the papyrus is squashed, and might be spread more widely, but not very far if μηπν rather than μη[ ]πν is right in 1). Then perhaps εὐρε[αc; but if so, the diacresis must fall before it, and that implies that at least two or three syllables have dropped out earlier in the line. Therefore consider εὐρε[ ]αc; and in fact there may be extra ink after the second ε, where the papyrus overlaps slightly, to allow -ε-. In that case, we look for a dactyl to start: -μελιε[ ] -μερο[ ] (e.g. ε[ ]μενος or e.g. Ε[ ]μμερε[ ] (voc.), if space allows? Then, after the diacresis, ἀμφίβεβ. [ ] - . The trace looks like an upright, with further ink at mid-height to the right: perhaps η, hardly ω. In the context, one could think of the meaning 'bedside': 'straddling those broad ...?', with a glance at εὐρόπρακτος?

3 Hex. . . ] πεμ . . . ε. ιπθα . . . ε[. First, part of ν, or sloping foot touching ι? After μ, upright ι, or letter-beginning), damaged trace and hole, then probably ρωσι (ρ rather than β, if this scribe always used the cursive form of beta).

If ιπθα is word-beginning (one could try e.g. πῖθ'), TLG offers only πιθαός, πιθαεύς, πιθαρχεύς, πιθάκη. Spacing would suit, say, πιθαρη, which in turn would suit a context of erotic temptation (e.g. Asclep., AP 5.158.1). Not πιθαρευόμενος or the like (Men. *Dis Ex.* 93); πιθάκη in Comedy, but traces seem against.

4 Pent. . . ] ὄν ὦ[ ]αῖον κόλλοπα[ ]?

κόλλοπ' or κόλλοπα. In this context, 'pathic': the sense is attested in Old and Middle Comedy (Plat. Com. fr. 202.5 KA; Diphil. fr. 42.22, Eubul. fr. 10.3KA; κολλοποδιώκτης Com. Adesp. 849 KA) and then by Dioscorides, AP 12.42 (Hell. Ep. 1528). Hunter, *Eubulus: the Fragments* p. 100 notes that the lexicographic tradition, perhaps as early as Aristophanes of Byzantium, tended to limit the word to adults (thus Hesych. . . τοῦ κληροῦ καὶ παρηγοκτάς παιδας). That would add another insult here; but ὦ[ ]αῖον goes against it.

A possible structure would be μὴ πύγιζε . . . ἀλλά (keep away from him): ἀν[α]νόμος would fit such a context (the verb often of refusing partners).

5 Hex. . . ] ν ὄπνον πύγιζε μεσ. [i. To judge from the space, only one or two syllables are lost at the beginning; therefore we must allow for caesura after πύγιζε (i.e. not πύγιζέ με). What of the beginning? Either one long syllable, or a trochee; the first syllable of ὄπνος (i.e. not πύγιζέ με). What of the beginning? Either one long syllable, or a trochee; the first syllable of ὄπνος is long most often in AP, but short from time to time, e.g. Crinagoras, 5.119.4, Lucilius, 11.264.1, 277.1 (ἐν ὄπνοισι). The first trace clearly suggests ο; μηδ' ἄν' ὄπνον πύγιζε looks impossible, μηδ' ἄν' ὄπνοισι even more. Yet it would suit the logic to repeat μὴ πύγιζε here (the mid-point of the poem), in a more emphatic form: 'Don't touch him even in your dreams' (for the Greek equivalents see Page, *Epigrams of Rufinus* (1978) 98).

μεσ. [i: Henderson § 236. But of course one could divide πύγιζ'.

6 Pent. . . ] οὐδανπειθηκορ. λε. [i. Prima facie, ἄν πεισθῆ; no iota adscript, although the scribe usually writes it even where it is not wanted. In that case, . . . ] ου δ' or . . . ] οὐδ'. Alternatively, it might be an itacism for πειθεῖς, cf. AP 7.683.2 μὴ πειθεῖς . . . ταῦτ' ἐπαθεῖς; 11.156.3 ἐμοὶ πειθεῖς, 'if you follow my advice'.

Then ορθαλε [i looks likely, the last an upright with traces to the right. Dr Rea suggests ὀρθά λέγο[ ]ντι. Say, παῖ[ ]ου δ', ἄν πεισθ[ ](ι)ς ὀρθά λέγο[ ]ντι φλοα.

7-8 'Do not stir Camarina. The place . . . discharges a stinging missile against your manhood.'

7 μὴ] κ(ε)ῖνε Καμαρίνα. A familiar proverb: W. Bühler, *Zenobii Aethi Proverbia* IV (1982) 199 collects the sources. The general explanation, ἐπὶ τῶν βλαβερῶν τι ποιεῖν ἑαυτοῦς μελλόντων, would suffice; but there may be a particular element of malice here, since some sources describe the marsh of Camarina (or a plant *camarina*) as particularly malodorous (EtGen etc.: ἐρηγται δὲ διὰ τῆν ἐν αὐτῇ δυσφιδίαν· κινουμένης γὰρ αὐτῆς φθορὰ ἐγγίγνεται σύματος). At the same time, as Gideon Nisbet notes, μὴ] κίνε (equivalent to μὴ βίνε) resumes μὴ πύγιζε at the beginning.

ὁ γὰρ τόπος. Commonly of body-parts, and especially of the *rudendum muliebre* (LSJ s.v. 3). But, as Dirk Obbink observes, the word is carefully chosen to give the illusion (initially) of an innocent geographical excursus.

8 . . . ] οc. The omicron very small, but no other letter seems likely. Before that, an upright with complex ink joining at half-height: account not ν, but ] ιοc (which also makes best use of a relatively small space). Dr Coles suggests ]φοc, to account for the spread (a flattened 'v' on its side) of the first trace.

ῆ(ι)βην: 'genitals', Henderson § 20 (so Argentarius, AP 9.554.6 = GP 1490; Strato, AP 12.225.4 'the wife of Heracles').

πικρὸν ἦκει βέλος: πικρὸν ἔπειμει βέλος Cyrus [of Panopolis, cos. 441], AP 7.557.2, of death; ἀνηρὸν δ' ἐκ πυρὸς ἦκει βέλος Asclepiades, AP 5.189.4 (erotic). Here a more physical weapon, with a malicious glance at the erotic sense? The basic language is Homeric: *Il.* 22.206 ἴμεται . . . πικρὰ βέλεμα etc. Cf. line 25 (more epic).

What is the weapon let fly? (i) *pediconum mentula meridalea est* (Priap. 68.8): the joke goes back to Machon 327-32, and recurs often enough in Latin (see Buchheit, *Studium zum Corpus Priapeum* (1962) 144; Courtney on *Juv.* 9.44). Meineke tried to find the same idea in Asclepiades, AP 12.42.4-5, but see Gow and Page on *Hell. Ep.* 1526; a close parallel in Strato, AP 12.225.4, where again it is ῆβη that suffers. (ii) For *πορδή* as weapon cf. Hor. *Serm.* 1.8.46; and the Charition mime III 413. Nicarchus (who celebrates King Fart in AP 11.395) is certainly familiar with the idea, see 25 below (= AP 11.328.8); and it would fit well with the notion (if recognised) of marshy exhalations.

## 10-17 Epigram II: ἐπὶ γέροντος παρθένου[ν] ἀγομένου.

An old man should not marry a young wife: it ends in tears and cuckoldry. This piece seems to rework well-worn themes: marry young (Hes., *WD* 695); a young wife does not suit an old husband (Theogn. 457; Eur. fr. 804); marriage costs money (Men. fr. 198; Automedon, AP 11.50; that presumably is the point of Lucilius, AP 11.388.6—'if you marry to have children, you will be too poor to care for them'), and mercy benefits the lower next door (Theogn. 460; Anaxandrides fr. 53.11-12 KA and the proverb γέρον ἐρώνος εὐφρανεῖ τοῦ γείτονος, Macarius II 97).

9 Title. The heading begins above syllable 4 (out of 15) of line 14, therefore should, if centred, end above syllable 12. If so, there is room for c. 10-12 letters after the break.

παρθένου[ν] ἀγομένου or γαμοῦντος: παρθένου[ν] (or παρθεν[ ]ου) would be too short according to the calculation above.

10 Here, or in the lacunas below, we expect a vocative, and perhaps a formal statement that the bridegroom is elderly (but the alert reader will infer this from 10 and 13).

11 The contrast of *amor* and *divitiae* can take various directions: for example, there are dangers in marrying a wife for her money (Stob. 4.22.118 ff.). Here, I assume, the reverse: your money buys you only misery (12) and eventual penalty (17).

Last trace, remains of upright ink on the edge. ἀμε[ ]νότερον just exempli gratia (the double comparative is attested at Mimn. fr. 14.9 W and in the anonymous lines quoted by [Ps?]*Philo, de aeternitate mundi* 41.8 (= Aristotle, fr. 21 Rose) and Philodemus, *Rhet.* II.61 S, οὐδὲ γυνὴ τοσσόνδε νόου ἐπιδεδνεταί ἔσθλοῦ, / ὡστε χρεῖνον ἐλέσθαι ἀμενότερον παρσόντων).

12 μνηδ'. This assumes that the poem is constructed as a series of prohibitions (concluding in a *gnome*, 16 f.?).

δάρανα καὶ ζήλου Philodemus, AP 5.42.2 (commonly reassigned to Mcleager, *HE* 4219; Sider, *Epigrams of Philodemus* no. 13). Presumably those of the jealous husband (as in Philodemus those of the distracted lover).

13 Slops, for the aged or the sick. 'The emotional distress will put you in the hands of the doctors?' 'You will find gruel more suitable to your age than drinking?'

. . . ] ιc. Presumably a food coordinat with the nouns that follow, say ζωμ[ ]οῦς (but why the plural?) or πολφ[ ]οῦς (but too long?). Pollux 6.61-2 collects some related words.

14-15 'Do not trust in aphrodisiacs: some one else will play your part?'

14 ἐξάμοιοι: *euca sativa* ('rocket'), well known as an aphrodisiac: see e.g. Dioscorides 2.140 *ενουσιάν παρορμῆ; Cynatides* 1.5.9-20 (pp. 44-5) Kaimakis, where the plant is antiaphrodisiac but the seeds aphrodisiac (part of an 'incomparable' potion ἐάν . . . τις τῆν ἡλικίαν ἐκτὶ προβεβηκώς καὶ τὸ μῦρον ἔχει παρεμῖνον). For *euca* see e.g. Mart. 3.75.3. On aphrodisiacs in general, Hopfner, *Sexualleben* (1938) 273-305.

15 ] ψειc: small ambiguous trace, if trace at all (on twisted fibres). The ending might belong to a noun or to a verb; in either case, unless δ' is postponed, it looks back to the line before, and presumably to a separate clause, e.g. ὦδε γὰρ - or οὐ γὰρ - ψειc. One possibility: ἀλλὰ ματαίως / τρ[ ]ψειc (Henderson § 340; *Juv.* 10.206). τρ[ ]ψειc, cf. in similar context AP 10.100.6, cannot be read.

ἄλλος suggests the motif ἑτέροις γῆμας (Leonid. Alex., *AP* 11.70.4) ὁμη.]: left-hand arc, it seems. If so, not διόνασαι. E.g. εἰδὸ ποεῖς.

16–17 Not properly understood. εἰς πενήν[ν] seems clear, and the aorist ἤγαγον, after the imperatives and the futures, might suggest a gnomic summing-up. The subject might then be the expenses of the marriage (cf. *AP* 10.119). What would they be? κοτύλαις suggests drinking parties (*AP* 11.3.5); if 15 suggests a lover, ὁ πλατυ— might refer to him. But that leaves the difficulty of fitting the anticipated consequences of this marriage into a general *gnome*. I had thought of, say, αἱ πολλὰ κοτύλαι καὶ ὁ πλατυ[ν]ωτος ἐραστῆς (for the insult, cf. *AP* 8.172.1). But already there are difficulties. (i) ]λ (or μ) suits the trace, but αἰπολ] looks too long; ἤδη] δ' αἰ would fit better, but the ink discourages ]δ (no real sign of the base). (ii) The papyrus certainly has κοτύλαις dative. (iii) If καὶ ὁ πλατυ— is right, the poet allowed καὶ to stand in hiatus, without correction, before the lengthened ὁ. The lengthening is normal with Philip's poets (Gow and Page, *GP* I p. xxxviii), hiatus is not; though see *ibid.* p. xli on Crinagoras.

Further difficulties arise in 17. Apparently ]οσσωπατρης, where ]ο might perhaps be ]ω, and the final c seems to be corrected from υ. On the simplest view, the scribe wrote ρου and changed it to ρης; but that is too simple, since the supposed omicron (a blob much smaller than the normal letter) looks to have been written on top of the eta. ρης does at least avoid hiatus with the following eta, and that is a reason for treating it as the final version. Then we have two possible articulations:

(i) ]οσσ( or ]οσσω) πάτρης. There is no iota adscript, though that is normally written elsewhere. That favours ]οσσ( or a dual) against ἐν τ]οσσ(ς), ἐν Κη]οσσ(ς) or the like; a verb seems unlikely when ἤγαγον follows so close.

(ii) ]οσ σωπατρ—. This sequence is not attested except in the proper names Σώπατρος, -α; and Nicarchus does use 'Sospitros' as the subject of a thin-man joke, *AP* 11.110. But the names, though potentially grand, do not serve elsewhere as indicators of status ('... have brought even aristocrats to poverty'). If there is a direct reference to the name of the husband or the wife, I do not see how to fit it in without substantial violence (say, if the old husband is called Sopater, κάλλους Σωπάτρους ἤγαγον εἰς πενήν, '... have brought other Sopaters too to poverty').

A quite different approach would take the poet as the adulterer, so that ἤγαγον is first person singular; then e.g. ἔγκειμαι κοτύλαις κἀγώ (commendation) ... But then what?

### 18–29 Epigram III: AP XI 328 Νικάρχου

Beckby's edition (1958) reports the text of the Palatinus as follows:

τὴν μίαν Ἐρμογένης κἀγὼ ποτε καὶ Κλεόβουλος  
ἤγομεν εἰς κοινὴν Κύπριν Ἰριστοδίεπν.  
ἦς ἔλαχον μὲν ἐγὼ πολλὴν ἄλα ναίμεν αὐτός.  
εἰς γὰρ ἐν, οὐ πάντες πάντα διελόμεθα.  
5 Ἐρμογένης δ' ἔλαχε στυγερὸν δόμον εὐρώεντα,  
ἔστατον, εἰς ἀφανὴ χῶρον ὑπερχόμενος,  
ἐνθ' ἄκται νεκίων καὶ ἔρινοι ἠμερόεντες  
δινεύονται πνοιῇ δυσκελεύων ἀνέμων.  
Ζήνα δὲ θεὸς Κλεόβουλον, ὃς οὐρανὸν εἰσαναβαίνειν,  
10 τὸ ψόθειον κατέχων ἐν χειρὶ πῆρ, ἔλαχεν.  
γῆ δ' ἔμενε ξυνη πάντων· ψιάθων γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ  
στρώσαντες τὴν γράνιν ὤδε διελόμεθα.

5 εὐρώεντα P 7 ἔρινοι Jacobs: ἐρμηναῖοι P 9 δὲ θεὸς Pauw: δεσθεε (the first c deleted) P  
11 ψιάθων P

Corruptions apart, the papyrus shows two substantial variations of text: the name Didymarchus instead of Cleobulus (twice), and apparently a different sentence-structure in 9–10. Did Nicarchus revise his text for a second (or collected) edition?

18 καιω pap.: κἀγὼ P, rightly.

ἔιδη] here, διδυμαρχον 26 pap.: Κλεόβουλος, Κλεόβουλον P. In life, both names are borne by real people. In the *Anthology*, Didymarchus does not otherwise appear; Cleobulus does, notably as *amatus* in Meleager (named from Anacreon's boyfriend?) and as the Sage of Lindos. It remains difficult, of course, to tell whether Nicarchus' victims were likely to be living acquaintances or fictional types. Here one could argue that 'Cleoboulos' puts the sage in an undignified posture (just as all seven sages deliver laxative precepts in their tavern at Ostia, see Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*<sup>2</sup> 429); 'Didymarchus' could then be a speaking name, cf. *AP* 5.126.6; Sider, *Epigrams of Philodemus* p. 141 (Sider notes DL6.51: Διδύμων was caught in adultery; Diogenes the Cynic commented 'ἄξιός ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος κρέμασθαι'). 'Hermogenes' too could be chosen with malice, as Dr Rea suggests, since Hermes has a special role in the underworld (22).

Something similar happens in the poem transmitted under the heading Μ[υ]νῆσάκου in PKöln V 204.14–17 but ascribed to Hegesippus in *AP* 6.266. However, so little of the context survives that the variation of name can be explained away (Cameron, *The Greek Anthology from Meleager to Planudes* (1993) 3 l.).

Martial offers interesting parallels, discussed by W. M. Lindsay, *The Ancient Editions of Martial* (1903) 21: for example at 1.10.1, where the MSS vary between *Gemellus* and *Venusius*. (No doubt it is coincidental that both were real targets, but at different times; or that one represents the real name, one the cover-name (the same has been claimed, say, for Lateranus/Damasippus at *Juv.* 8.146). But if it is true that Martial never attacked living persons, both explanations fail. A third possibility is aesthetic: an editor, or Martial himself (Pasquali, *Storia della Tradizione* ... 425), decided to replace one fictional name by another more telling in the context. In any case the variations seem too large to be explained simply as scribal negligence (N. M. Kay, *Martial Book XI* (1985) 4 n. 12).

20 τολιην pap.: πολίην P, rightly.

21 διελόμεθα pap., but -λόμεθα in 29: -λο- P in both places. The first aorist has a foothold in literary Greek (Gow & Page on *GP* 2885), apart from its presence in NT and increasingly in documents (Pognet II 344 f.), and might even be thought to add a colloquial touch. However, we should assume that the poem used the same form in both lines; and that the scribe was more likely to corrupt the strong form into the weak than vice versa.

ταυτα pap.: πάντα P, rightly (ταυτα or ταυτά ruins Nicarchus' double polyptoton).

22 στυγερων pap.: στυγερὸν P, rightly.

Apparently ευροεντ[α, not ευρω- pap.: the same unmetrical spelling in P.

24 ]ακτ νεκτων pap., perhaps ]ακται (but αἰ looks wide for the space, and the first trace high in the line for alpha; ο or ω could be read, and in that case the corruption was wider): ἐνθ' ἄκται νεκίων P.

ἔρινοι: the papyrus confirms Jacobs' conjecture (from *Il.* 22.145): ἐρμηναῖοι P. ἠμερόεντες pap.: -εντες P, rightly.

25 πνοιαι pap.: πνοιῇ P. δυσκελεύων pap.: -εμεμον pap. (δοῦ could be read, and suits the space better than δοῦν): δυσκελεύων ἀνέμων P, rightly.

26 δεθεε pap., as Pauw: δεσθεε (the first sigma deleted) P.

διδυμαρχον pap.: Κλεόβουλον P.

εἰσαναβαίνω pap.: εἰσαναβαίνειν P, rightly, unless the papyrus had a different reading in 27.

27 τὸ ψο]λόειν κατέχων ἐν χειρὶ π... In the first half of the line, the traces suit the transmitted text very well. The end remains difficult (partly because the papyrus has cracked and overlapped itself). P offers πῆρ ἔλαχεν: in the papyrus πῆρ might be possible, but hardly ἔλαχεν. Dr Coles thought he recognised πῆρα; πῆραλον might then be considered, or more realistically πῆραλ(ς)ον. The participle κατέχων then depends on the finite verb εἰσαναβαίνω in 26. πῆραλον could bear a suitably obscene meaning (Henderson § 63). And yet it all spoils the point: Zeus does not normally wield a rudder, and we miss the catch-word ἔλαχεν.

28 ψιάθων pap., as Brūnck had conjectured, rightly: ψιάθων P.

### 30–37 Epigram IV: the Sphinx unriddled

An obscene explanation of the Riddle of the Sphinx. Apparently not the same poem as 3725 fr. 2.8–10 (heading ἐπὶ εφρυγ[έε?]).

The riddle, as quoted from the fourth-century littérateur Asclepiades of Tragus (FGrH 12 F 7), begins *ἔστι δῆλον ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ τετραπόδων, οὐ μὴ φωνῆ, καὶ τριπόδων*.... Other quotations offer variants, see D. Mastronarde's text of Euripides' *Phoenissae* (Leubner, 1988) pp. 6–7; it has been debated whether the original goes back to epic, or only to tragedy (H. Lloyd-Jones, *Academic Papers* I (1990) 332–4).

The joke may already be known from Comedy: see Henderson § 362 on Anaxilas fr. 22.22 ff. KA (with Callias fr. 28 KA *Μεγαρικά εφῆγγες*). Dirk Obbink notes a similarity with Philodemus, *AP* 11.318 (31 Sider), where an astrological puzzle is resolved obscenely.

30 *τετράπων τε τρι(ί)πων τ'* seems guaranteed by the sense, though twisted fibres make the assignment of traces in *ετρα* and *πον* rather uncertain.

*γαίη*, not *-ης*: ἐπὶ γῆς (rarely γῆι) in the riddle.

31 οὐθέϊς: the traces seem to suit theta (parts of cross-bar and right-hand arc) better than delta. In Attic inscriptions, this form dominates in the fourth century and the Hellenistic period; οὐδέϊς reasserts itself in the Roman period (Threatte, *Grammar of the Attic Inscriptions* I (1980) 472 with II (1996) 753). Documentary papyri show both forms coexisting into the second century AD (Gignac I 97). Is the use here a vulgarity? or a look back to New Comedy?

ἐστὶ δ' α[. . .] παθικός: δ(ε) seems necessary, to mark the pay-off; *παθικός* should be a word by itself (Buck & Petersen cite no compounds). Therefore α[. . .] must represent a single iambic word. The gap has room for two or three letters; the final trace is no more than ink level with the letter-tops. We could look for a proper name (but I have nothing more plausible to suggest than Ζ[Ἰδω]ν). Simpler would be δ[ν]ηρ (J. R. Rea); and very much to the point, since (as Dirk Obbink remarks) it recalls the straight answer to the riddle (*ἀνορθωτός*) before subverting it with *παθικός*.

*παθικός*. The noun had been known only from loucher Latin (Cat. 16.2, 57.2, Juv. 2.99; of women, *Priap.* 25.3, 40.4, 73.1; *patuissimus libellos* Martial 12.95.1); the verb *παθικεύεσθαι* does occur, once, and precisely in Nicarchus (*AP* 11.73.7). Meanwhile David Bain, *ZPE* 117 (1997) 81–2, has identified a second Greek example, a graffito backstage in the Odeum at Aphrodisias: 'the generally held view that it was a popular borrowing into Latin is confirmed'.

32–3 An ingenious perversion of the straight explanation (the child crawling on all fours); the participle perhaps glances at the text of the riddle (*ἄπλευρῶν ἐρειδόμενον ποδί*, where other sources have *ἐπειγόμενοι*). *ἀπερεϊάμενος* seems very likely, but the scribe may have written *ο* rather than *ε*.

33 I suppose τὰς χέρας, or better ἐς χέρας (J. R. Rea), and then emend to ἀμφοτέραις. *ἀπερεϊάμενος* seems very likely, but the scribe may have written *ο* rather than *ε*.

34 Not really understood. *τρίπους* is clear, and we therefore expect a perversion of the straight answer 'an old man and his stick' (*τρίπατον πόδα βάκτρον ἐρείδει*, Mastronarde p. 7). At the beginning, *φαλλῶν* is tempting: that would be the third leg, as presumably in Theocritus' description of Priapus, *AP* 9.437 (*τρικεκέλες*: Gow thinks this 'improbable', and prints Jahn's emendation *ἀκεκέλες*). However, the palaeography is not straightforward: some elements of the ink suit ]φ or perhaps ]φ, but I cannot explain all the traces; *θαλλῶν* might be better. Then δ' αὐτῶν δέ (or αὐ τῶνδε)?

Later, *φικίων* can be recognised. *Φικίων* is the mountain of the Sphinx, [Hes., *Sc.* 33 (= fr. 195.33). There may also be a pun: *φικίος* is now attested in XLII 3070.5, as well as in Herodian; David Bain has pointed out a third example in PHeid 190 fr. 1.75 (*ZPE* 52 (1983) 56), where he suggests reading *φικιδ[α]* (or *φικω*) for the editor's *φικιο*—*φικιο*[ν] might also be thought of (but of course we expect *φικιδίον* as the diminutive). If there is a pun, it ignores quantity: Herodian explicitly attests the accentuation *φικίος*, which would suggest that the first syllable was short.

How can these elements be combined? Before *φικίων*, τῶ ε; the traces most suggest the lower parts of ν or τ; perhaps δ, though the space seems narrow; not τ, since there are too many feet. After *φικίων*, αὐτ. ; *αὐτῶς* or *αὐτῶ* look suitable, but not other cases of the pronoun. After that, 35 presumably continues *ὄν τ' ῥόπον*, which might link the whole verse or just the initial phrase. I have no ideas that do not involve substantial emendation. Say, τῶν φαλλῶν δ' αὐτῶς τε τρίπους, τὸ δὲ φικίων αὐτοῦ.... 'He himself has a third leg with his phallus, and ...'. And then? If the next clause expands the same joke, it might perhaps mean '... and his backside (is) like the rock nearby in Thebes' (sticking up in the air). But perhaps, as Dirk Obbink suggests, we should see it as a secondary joke of mythological pseudo-etymology: '... and his backside is (explains the name of) the rock Phikion near Thebes'.

35 Presumably *πληθίων*: *ηλικίων* pap.

36 εἰ τῶβ': *ειρεθ* papyrus. I assume that the sense must be 'If I had then existed, gentlemen, I would have won Thebes' (by solving the riddle better than Oedipus); it remains a question whether *ἐγὼ* attaches to *ὄσπῆρον* or *ἐξον*.

37 ἰδιόρεα: so Strato, *AP* 12.254.2; and the programmatic address to the reader which began Agathias' anthology, *AP* 4.3a. Did the epigrammatists simply borrow this from New Comedy (see e.g. Handley on Men., *Dysk.* 194)? or had they their own specific audience (at symposia or recitations) in mind? *ἐπταπόλιος*: (Boeotian) Thebes, *Il.* 4.406, *Od.* 11.263.

### 38 ff. Epigram V: 'On an adulterer'

'You are entrusting cheese to a mouse, hay to a donkey, honey to bees [?], chicory to geese, boar to dogs, raiment to slaves, a cloak to a shivering man, the entrance fees to a theatre-manager, meat to athletes, a casserole to a gourmet—you, Alexis, who, dining with the adulterer Damon, bring your woman near him as well. Risen from table, he'll corrupt her; and thus [your son?] doesn't look like [?] you, his "father"—but like his (real) father.'

Dining out gives the seducer his chance: that is a regular theme of Roman poetry (thus Horace, *Carm.* 3.6.25 ff.; Ovid, *AA* 1.229 ff., 566 ff., *Am.* 1.4 with McCown, Juv. 1.57 with Courtney).

39 πικ[τ]ρεύεις looks very likely (the first trace is of γ or τ). The first four lines represent a kind of priamel, in which first animals, then slaves, then people, are juxtaposed with something they might find desirable and indeed consumable. The priamel has its own internal construction: crescendo from mouse to gourmet, cheese to casserole; in 41–2 two balancing pairs—the indigent against the capitalist, carnivorous athlete against (fish-eating) foodie. Symbolic food then leads on to the real dinner in 43.

*μυ*: *μη* pap., a clear corruption (graphic, or phonetic?). For mice and cheese, cf. *Τυρογλόφος*, *Τυροφάγος* *Batrachom.* 137, 223.

*ὄνοι*. Proverb *ὄνος εἰς ἐχυρα* Philcmo fr. 158 KA etc.; but *χόρπος* of course is green fodder. *μέλι μνη*: an unsolved problem. The traces most suggest *μνη*, though *μη*. [ could be considered; one syllable should be lost at the end. What creature is drawn to honey, as mice are to cheese? Bears eat it (Aristotle, *HA* 594<sup>b</sup>), so do bees (623<sup>b</sup>18). Bees look likeliest in real life; and that would suggest *μέλι μνη*[ε], 'honey to the swarm'. But I have found no example of *εμῆνος* so spelled (on the pattern *μικρός/εμικρός*, see the examples in Schwyzer I 311). Dr Rea suggests that we have the same corruption here as earlier in the line, *μη* for *μυ*, i.e. originally *μνήη* or *μνῆαις*. Flies certainly hasten to honey (AR 4.1453; *Acs. Fab.* 293). Yet the palaeography remains difficult: *μνη*[ (or *μνηα*[ε]) is an unlikely reading, *μνηα*[ε] seems excluded.

40 *χρῆσι* *έρων*. There are other creatures that enjoy cndive. Ammianus, *AP* 11.413.3, lists it among the dishes at Apelles' dinner more fit for *πρόβατα* than his friends: but *οἰεῖ* (too short) or *βουεῖ* cannot be read. In fact, the second trace suggests a horizontal at two-thirds height: that, and the space (since χ is typically very wide) would suit *χρῆσι*; *σεσι* is mentioned as a favourite food for geese by Varro RR 3.10.5 and Col. 8.14.2.

*ἴφθα*: the word is not attested in LSJ or its Revised Supplement or in TLG. *παρῖφθα* Clearchus *ἐν τετάρτῳ βίῳ* ap. Athen. XII 522D=fr. 48 Wehrli (a transparent garment worn by the luxurious Tarantines); Men. fr. 414 (and Pollux there quoted). *παρῖφές* Aristoph. fr. 332.7 KA, among the luxuries of Attic ladies. There presumably the idea of luxury lies in *παρ*—something is woven into, or around, the plain weave.

Slaves wore a tunic, Juv. 1.93 (the spendthrift does not even give them that); they might get some kind of cloak, Pers. 1.54, Juv. 9.68. What is the idea here: slaves (so presumably, not 'kids') will grab any garment? or a garment more covering or more elegant than their norm? But, as Dr Rea observes, the singular is a little odd; and if *ἴφθῆσι* is restored in the next line, we have two clothing jokes on the trot. Symmetry would indeed suggest some kind of food stuff: emend e.g. to *ἀθήνη* or *εφῆρῶνα* = *sporulation* (J.R. Rea)?

41 *ἴφθῆσι*: to judge from the spacing, the scribe wrote *εφῆσιον*. This is normally an outer garment, to go on top of the *χιτών* (see Bauer-Aland s.v.). Of possible alternatives, *εφρωμάτιον* looks too long. *θεατρῶνης* quoted by TLG only from Theophr. *Char.* 30.6. A. Müller, *Lehrbuch der griechischen Bühnenallertümer* (1886) 343 translates 'Theaterpächter' (elsewhere *θεατροπάλης*, Pollux 7.199 *ὁ θέαν ἀπομιεβάν*, or *ἀρχιτέκτων*, Dem. 18.28), and compares the *ἀνηγαί* mentioned in connection with the theatre at Piraeus, IG II<sup>2</sup> 1176.

*λόγευμα* does not appear in TLG, but does occur in documentary papyri; it there means 'sum collected',

normally by taxation. (For the parent verb, see Polyb. 3.1.31.1 τὸ λογευθέν, 'the money raised' by the sale of wheat.) Since this is something appetising to the theatre-lessor, does the word here refer to ticket money? or should we visualise three tiers?—the city rents its theatre to the lessor, who then collects fees from companies using it?

42 ἀθ]λεύ(ου)σι κρέας. There are two problems here. (i) Space at the line-beginning is short for the two syllables required by the metre; if this was a noun in -ετι, I have found nothing suitable. (ii) The scribe apparently wrote κρεας; δικρραα cannot be read. The double conjecture printed restores the cliché of the beef-eating athlete: for material see J. Haussleiter, *Der Vegetarismus in der Antike* (1935). Dirk Obbink suggests alternatively <ροε> ε]ε]πεα (a glance at the proverbial greed of Delphians at the sacrifice, see Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 191.27); but the initial oblique trace seems less suitable to rho, which normally has a straight stem.

λοπάδα. The shallow (hidded?) casserole, illustrated by B. A. Sparkes, *JHS* 82 (1962) 130 and pl. VI. In Comedy it has frequent associations with fish and with sizzling. By transfer, the word may mean 'a savoury dish', so in Crates *SH* 353.1 and Glaucus, *AP* 12.44.3 (*Hell. Ep.* 1813), and perhaps Hipparchus *SH* 496.1 (though there 'shellfish' would also suit). Dr Rea notes that it may also mean 'limpet', more usually λεπία; the spelling in -ο- is quoted from Galen 4.670 and as a variant at Theophr. *HP* 4.6.7 and Orib. *syn.* 4.2.4, and already in Plautus *Rud.* 297, fr. 102 as transmitted. The limpet certainly figures with other edible shellfish (Athen. 86-7), and as a delicacy (among *molliculas escas*) at Plautus *Cas.* 499.

43 δειπνῶν: δειπνον pap.

Δάμωνος: the name has no typological function in epigram: *AP* 7.548; 12.35 (amatus); 11.125 (undertaker).

But for a Damon in Nicarchan context note 3725 fr. 3.6.

Ἀλεξι: often the amatus (*AP* 7.100, 12.127, 164, 229; so always in Martial as a borrowing from Virgil), but a priest in *AP* 6.51 and an incompetent doctor in *AP* 11.122 (which P assigns to Callipecter, Pl to Nicarchus).

44 ἐγ]γός seems to suit the traces, so far as they go, but is by no means certain. There is a difficulty here. If we take ἐγ]γός αἰρότο, αἰρότο, καί and ἄμα all seem redundant. Should we emend to αἰρότων ('bring him and your woman close together')? That would be more pointed than <α>αἰρότων.

γύναϊον. Wife, presumably, if paternity is an issue in what follows.

45 I have considered two readings here.

(i) . . . ] ἀνεστάμενος κακύνει (κακύνει papyrus): the ε is represented only by a low oblique trace, then high ink and a rising horizontal which I have taken as the upright and upper branch of κ. The disadvantages of this are that ε would be rather small; κ would touch the following letter, which is not normal; χ must be corrected to κ. Nonetheless, it might give a suitable, if banal, sense: 'As soon as he has got up from table, he will corrupt her'. For this sense of the verb: the iambs printed as Com.Adesp. 138.2 Kock (omitted by KA), οἶδε γὰρ σινουσία/φασίη κακύνειν; Dio Cassius 60.2.4 ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἐξελευθέρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν, αἰετὶ σὺν ἡμῶν, ἐκακύνετο.

(ii) . . . ] ἀνεστάμενον τακύνει. This may be palaeographically preferable, but I do not see how it would fit the sense. 'As soon as you stand up, he'll speed you on your way?—so as to be left alone with your wife?'

In either case, I find it difficult to suggest a connective supplement for the line-beginning: e.g. ἀκέει' or εὐθύει] would be too long, judging from the plausible restorations in 39-44.

45-6 The repetition of πατρί suggests that paternity is put in doubt by adultery. The lover fathers the child, and the husband unsuspectingly accepts it? Or each fathers a child on the same woman (Mart. 10.95)?

45 δόμο. [The trace is upright, descending somewhat below the line. One could think, say, of δόμοισιν, if a construction could be found. But διὰ τὰ πάντα suggests consequences, and that suggests a new clause: therefore divide δ' ὄμο. ] and consider supplements from δμοιοι (legitimate children resemble their father, Lucilius *AP* 11.215).

46 τὴν μορφήν: the first μ seems likely, though somewhat damaged (at least I cannot make any better sense of it as αλ or λα); the second depends on a short initial rising oblique, and does not explain what seems to be the foot of an upright well below the line. Gideon Nisbet observes that, if this is to be the paternity joke, μορφήν would fit the sense much more directly; it is tempting to think that a second μ was corrected to ρ, but the low upright trace seems actually too low for the typical ρ.

If we accept μορφήν as reading or emendation, and the basic sense as 'your child looks, not like you his father, but like his (real) father', we could pursue two approaches. (i) διὰ τὰ πάντα δ' ὄμοι[αν/οἴ] σοι τὴν μορφήν τοῦ πατρός, τοῦ δὲ πατρός . . . δε then completes a contrast begun by οὐ]. We lack subject and verb, but they may have followed in a fifth couplet in the next column. (ii) If we stick with eight lines (and that is a likely length), we have to provide a verb. I had thought of θη]λοι or the like, but ]ε looks very likely and I cannot think of a verb to incorporate it; in any case οὐ] has its advantages. More economical would be ὄμοι[οι

(μορφήν object) or ὄμοι[οι ( ov) σε. ἐστι (μορφήν accusative of respect). The change of tense from the future is not ideal; and in any case the subject, if it is the child, is still missing. I see no way of meeting this difficulty except by emendation, i.e. by writing παῖς in place of τῆν or of the first τοῦ.

Foot of column. We have no means of telling whether the poem ended here: any paragraphs would be lost with the left-hand margin; an isolated trace lower down to the right, below the alpha of πατρι, has no obvious significance.

P. J. PARSONS

#### 4503-4507. ANOUBION, Elegiacs

Plates XI-IXV

Hephaestion of Thebes (2.2) writing in the 380's could quote from *Ἀνουβίων ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις* a half-dozen distichs of a *Lehrgedicht* of venerable antiquity. 4503-4505 preserve parts of this poem on the science of astrology by Anoubion of Diospolis which circulated at least as early as the second century. His collection of astrological lore, like that of his predecessor Dorotheus Sidonius, was an authoritative source of predictions to professional astrologers down through the Byzantine period.

Attribution of 4503-4505 is secured by the fact that they can be seen turned more or less word for word into Latin in sections 2.4.1-6 and 6.29-31 of Firmicus Maternus' *Mathesis*. Firmicus elsewhere (4.1.1) seems to credit Anoubion as a source (see below). Use of Anoubion by Firmicus in book 6 was first postulated by W. Kroll, *CCAG* II (1900) 159-60, cf. 204 n. 1 on the basis of correspondences between Firmicus and a prose paraphrase said to be ἐκ τῶν Ἀνουβίωνος (in part *CCAG* II 204-12, re-edited in full as Dorotheus fr. II 14-33 pp. 345-67 Pingree; cf. *CCAG* II 159-80). In the ms. (Cod. Venetus) this follows on directly from a brief anonymous prose treatise (*CCAG* II 202-3) in which four elegiac distichs are quoted (without author). An additional elegiac distich is quoted explicitly from Anoubion by the late antique astrological writer Rhetorios *CCAG* VIII 4.208 (ἐπανῶ καὶ τὸν Ἀνουβίωνα εἰρηκότα οὕτως κτλ.). By these means S. Weinstock, 'A New Anubio Fragment', *Cd'E* 27 (1952) 210-17 identified a direct link between the astrological elegiacs P. Schubart 15 (P. Berol. inv. 9587, iii AD) and Firmicus 6.31.78-85, pointing to Anoubion as their author. 4503-4505 therefore confirm Kroll and Weinstock, and show that Firmicus derived much else from Anoubion besides. The new fragments, presented below with their corresponding sections in Firmicus printed in parallel columns, roughly treble the number of verses of Anoubion previously known, and expand our view of an author who was previously but a little-known figure of legend.

4503 contains the proem, introducing the principles of the science, especially the ὥρονόμοι, 'hour-regulators' and δεσπῶται, 'ruling signs' in divination by astrology. 4503 and 4504 together preserve parts of the body of the poem, consisting of a catalogue of individual predictions.

**4505** gives us further excerpts, and also a book division, colophon, title, and book number: Book 3.

**4506** and **4507** are identifiable as astrological elegiacs, but have not been localised; they provide additional testimony for astrological elegiacs on papyrus, and add a few words to the poetic repertoire of the Greek astrological poets. III **464**, P.Ryl.III 488, P. Schubart 16 and PSI III 157, together with Manetho bk.5 and Julian the Arian pp. 255, 260 Hagedorn (see introd. to **4506**), likewise contain astrological elegiacs and have on this basis alone been claimed for Anoubion, but these lack the exact textual correspondence with Firmicus found in **4503–4505** and P. Schubart 15.

THE POEM: an ambitious composition, on a scale which challenged the author's talents: **4505** and P. Schubart 15 show at least four books. **4503–4505** come from book 3. It contained its own proem, addressed to a reader or potential astrologer in the second person, covering principles of the science and 'operator's instructions' for the use of the book. Subjects of books 1–2 are unknown; presumably they covered other main divisions of the science: the orderly arrangement of the fixed stars, the τάξις of the sun, moon and five planets and their conjunctions and phases (the paraphrase CCAG II 204–12 bears the title *Περὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους σχηματισμῶν τῶν ἀστέρων, ἐκ τῶν Ἄνουβίωνος*). Book 3 treated the ἀνατολαί, 'risings' of the ὠρονόμοι (cf. Clem. Alex. Strom. VI 35 ff.) and the δεσπότης at the hour of birth as a determination of one's fate. Book 4 (probably in part P. Schubart 15) may have been a miscellaneous collection of predictions.

Noteworthy is the emergence of a proem and of second person direct addresses (**4503** front fr. 2.6; back fr. 2.3–6 esp. 5 ἀγγελίαι; var. lect. in **4504** ii 2 εὔροι; **4505** fr. 2.5 ἐνὶ θεῖς εἴρη; cf. Anoubion ap. Hephaestion 2.2. (p. 90 Pingree) v. 1 μάθου). They add a new dimension to A.'s poem, revealing an author who is less of a hack compiler, and one more fully engaged in the literary if lapidary construction of an authoritative didactic poem. The identity of the addressee, and whether he was named, are unknown. Did the Greek-Egyptian author, with a suitably theophoric pseudonym 'Anoubion', address his poem to a priest-in-training, a ὠρολόγος who would report his findings as the proem says (**4503** back fr. 2.5)? For the practice of predictive astrology by priestly staff in Greco-Roman temples see A. Jones, 'The Place of Astronomy in Roman Egypt', *Apeiron* 27 (1994) 25–51 esp. 41–6. Dorotheus' poem was addressed to his son (1 pr. 3 pp. 3, 161 Pingree); his predictions are often couched in the form of what one should say to the person consulting the astrologer (e.g. 5.34 v. 4 p. 407 Pingree φράζεο νεῖκεα ταῦτα). Cf. **4503** back 3–6. The author of the Manethoniana, in keeping with his pseudonym, dedicated and addressed his *Apotelesmatica* to 'King Ptolemy' (6.1 βασιλεὺ Πτολεμαίε, cf. 35, 207, 5.1). Petosiris and Nechepso also seem to have addressed a king: fr. 37–8 Riess, (*Philol.* Supplbd. 6 (1891–3) 327–94; Pingree, 'Petosiris, Pseudo-', in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* 10 (1974) 547–9) τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ βασιλεῖ (they may also have written in verse). Firmicus Maternus addresses his prose *Mathesis* to his associate Mavortius, who is frequently exhorted. Manilius dedicated his *Astronomica* to Caesar (Augustus) in the proem to book 1, though the address is later forgotten. On the

addressee in astrological literature see D. Konstan, in *Conventional Values of the Hellenistic Greeks*, edd. P. Bilde et al. (1997) 159–76 at 160 with n. 9; in didactic poetry generally: J. S. Clay et al. edd., *Mega nepios: il ruolo del destinatario nell'epos didascalico*, MD 31 (Pisa 1994). Housman took a dim view (on Manilius 3.vi) of its significance: 'Liars need not have long memories if they address themselves to fools, who have short ones. An astrological poet writing his third book may safely forget his second, because an astrological reader will never remember it'. Even as a thinly veiled literary device, the second person address giving 'operators' instructions' may point to a purported practical use.

RELATION TO FIRMICUS: **4503–4505** show that Firmicus' Latin version in book 6 is not only dependent on A.'s *Lehrgedicht* as a source, as Weinstock demonstrated, but is an almost word-for-word translation of it (so already R. Merkelbach, *APF* 16 (1956) 86 on P. Schubart 15). Close correspondence with the Latin version allows for a precise reading and reconstruction, showing in places how faithful Firmicus could be to his Greek sources; the divergences show how much change the tradition could undergo, either revised and refined by successive astrologers, corrupted by scribes, or excerpted and anthologised by editors. Firmicus' divergence from the Greek text is apparent at e.g. **4503** back fr. 2.9–12 and **4504** ii 2–4. In some cases we must reckon that the difference between Anoubion and Firmicus is due to alteration in the transmission of the former. For we cannot be certain that the text as witnessed in the papyrus was in every case identical with the one used by Firmicus or an intermediary.

Firmicus' version eliminates the second person addresses, exhortations, and asseverations, prosaically elaborates A.'s lapidary poetic diction, and embellishes some of the predictions at the end of A.'s third book with exempla drawn from figures of mythology and history, from Oedipus to Demosthenes, who, he claims, instantiate persons who were born under the signs and who were subject to the predictions in question. It is clear from **4504** and **4505** that the exempla were not present in Anoubion, though we find them in Manetho. Their absence makes A.'s verses look bare and practical by comparison. In addition to embellishing the predicted outcomes, Firmicus refined and in some cases appears to have materially altered the technical content in A., namely, the positions of the planets which determine each prediction, no doubt adding new ones of his own devising or from other sources.

STRUCTURE: Firmicus' text establishes the order of Anoubion's fragments as they appeared in the original poem. After a systematic proem (**4503** front), it covered (at least) the same ground as sections 29–31 in book six of Firmicus (predictions of ill-omen, especially under the influence of Venus). **4503–4505** can all be ordered within these sections of Firmicus:

(i) **4504** (~6.29.23–30.3)

(ii) **4503** back (~6.30.6)

(iii) **4505** (~6.30.20–3)

(The ordering as presented in this edition is slightly illogical, since 4503 back is presented following directly upon 4503 front. In the original poem, 4503 back would have fallen between 4504 and 4505.) Within each fragment the predictions themselves follow the same order as in Firmicus. This makes it possible to reconstitute the original order of the fragments in A.'s poem according to the sequence in Firmicus. In addition to the borrowings in book 6, Firmicus also borrowed material from A.'s poem in 4503 front (or a common source very like it) for his introduction in book 2 (sections 1–4). 4505 preserves the end and colophon to A.'s book 3. This book division also exactly corresponds to a structural division at Firmicus 6.30.26 (see on 4505 fr. 2.13). This means that P. Schubart 15 (~Firmicus 6.31.78–85) must come from book 4+. Some of the quotations of A. in Hephaestio and others, dealing with astrological method, technique, and principles can be conjecturally placed in one or another of the books. See on 4503 front fr. 2.15.

**LIFE AND TIMES:** Many astrologers composed predictions which circulated in hexameter collections, and a select but distinguished cadre of Greek and Latin didactic poets indulged their skills in versifying the τέχνη ἀστρολογική. But the only astrological poet known to us or to the compilers of the late-antique handbooks who wrote elegiacs is Anoubion (so already Kroll, *CCAG* II 202 n. 1). Of Anoubion himself we know barely enough to constitute a myth of authorship. According to ps.-Clement Rom., *Homil.* 4.6.2 he worked as an ἀστρολόγος at Diospolis. Presumably he hailed from Diospolis Magna, capital of the Theban nome in Upper Egypt with its great temples, rather than the nearby Diospolis Parva, or Diospolis κάτω in the Delta. This accords well with the name, which occurs frequently in the Theban region (though not, of course, exclusively so), being formed from the root of Anubis, the jackal-form divinity worshipped there (see R. Bagnall, B. W. Frier, and I. C. Rutherford, *The Census Register P.Oxy. 984: The Reverse of Pindar's Paeans*, *Papyrologica Bruxellensia* 29 (Bruxelles 1997) 24, 114–18). In addition the area was renowned as a centre of esoteric science: see P. Kingsley, *Ancient Philosophy, Mystery and Magic: Empedocles and the Pythagorean Tradition* (Oxford 1995). According to the Suda entry, the Ptolemaic priest and historian Manetho also came from the Theban Diospolis (alternatively he was from Sebennytus, or a priest at Heliopolis); later on Hephaestio worked there.

Ps.-Clement (ad loc.) gives Anoubion his greatest claim to fame: a prominent place among the thirty μαθηταί of Simon Magus, thus putatively in the time of Nero (Riess, *RE* I (1894) 2321–2). Anoubion is singled out, together with the Alexandrian grammarian Apion Πλευστονικός and the Epicurean philosopher Athenodorus of Athens—a circle of dubious intellectual authorities (philosopher, astrologer, grammarian), who could have rubbed shoulders with the famous wizard. No doubt they were carefully chosen to lend credibility to ps.-Clement's novelistic account (M. J. Edwards, 'The *Clementina*: A Christian Response to the Pagan Novel', *CQ* 42 (1992) 259–74; id. 'Simon Magus, the Bad Samaritan' in M. J. Edwards and S. Swain, *Portraits: Biographical Representation*

in the Greek and Latin Literature of the Roman Empire (1997) 69–91). According to ps.-Clement, Apion and Anoubion cultivated an allegiance to Simon, until his expulsion from Egypt and flight to Sidon; after this they tried to distance themselves from him. Simon's interest in astrology (for which see Edwards in *CQ*, pp. 86–7) accounts for ps.-Clement's association of him with Anoubion. The association becomes more credible if A. was the author of a recondite yet fashionable didactic poem on the subject which circulated in contemporary circles, one which directed readers to try their hand at the art. Apion was a well-known Alexandrian intellectual and scholar, also noted for his role (which brought him to Rome) in anti-Jewish activities at Alexandria, opposed by Josephus in his *Contra Apionem*. (He also wrote a *Περὶ τοῦ μάγου*: fr. 28 *FHG* iii p. 515.) Athenodorus of Athens is otherwise unknown; perhaps his name was chosen for its geographical associations, adding Athens to Alexandria and Diospolis, and implying that Simon drew followers from a broad spectrum of centres of learning. Objections to the identification may be raised: there may well have been more than one astrologer named Anoubion who worked in Egypt—where the name is common: an Aurelios Anoubion, public doctor appears in LXIII 4370; an Aurelius Sinouthis son of Anoubion in LX 4090, etc. And there is no testimony that ps.-Clement's Anoubion wrote verse. On the other hand, the fact that only one Anoubion is recorded (and uniquely as an elegiac poet) in the later astrological tradition suggests that the link is more than coincidental, and that the author of the pseudo-Clementine homily appropriated a figure of notoriety in order to lend plausibility and contemporary colour to his account.

In the fourth century Firmicus used at least those passages which correspond with 4503–5, P. Schubart 15, and *CCAG* II 202–212. At 3.1.1 Firmicus cites as his sources for the horoscope of the world 'Hanubius' and 'Aesculapius': *mundi itaque genituram hanc esse voluerunt secuti Aesculapium et Hanubium, quibus potentissimum Mercurii numen istius scientiae secreta commisit*. Firmicus seems to mean that Hermes Trismegistus revealed the principles of astrology to the gods Asclepius and Anubis, and that he depends upon their teaching. That Firmicus' 'Hanubius' is identical with the poet Anoubion (so Usener, *RhMus* N.F. 55 (1900) 335 n. 1) has been doubted (e.g. Gundel and Gundel, *Astrologoumena* 156 n. 45). But Firmicus tells us further that 'Aesculapius' in fact had revealed these secrets in a book, entitled *Moirogenesis* (so the Budé editor, P. Monat, *Firmicus Maternus, Mathésis*, vol. 3 (Paris 1997): *myriogenesis* *MPR N* Kroll *et al.*, see her explanatory note, vol. 3, p. 285–6; Aesculapius' book also cited at 5.1.36 and 8.18.1). It is reasonable to think that Firmicus similarly used writings by 'Hanubius' (i.e. Firmicus' Latin version of *Ἀνουβίων*). On these grounds Weinstock suggested that Anoubion is a theophoric pseudonym formed from Anubis/Anubius, and that the poem is thus pseudepigraphical. Comparable in this respect would be the writings that passed in antiquity under the names of Hermes, Orpheus, Nechepso and Petosiris, Ammo. In a work by Ostanes (fr. A 1 BC = Psell., ed. Bidez, *Cat. alchim.* gr. 6.44) Anubis appears as a commentator on a famous alchemical work, the *Heptabiblos* of Hermes Trismegistus. But the inclusion of Anoubion in a historical context by ps.-Clement seems to suggest at least a belief in a known individual who, under the name of Anoubion, had gained a degree of notoriety.



The papyrus fragments show that the elegiac poem which passed under his name was in circulation by the second century. Notices of him by Hephæstion and later astrological writers betray a view of him as a didactic technician, rather than a mythical bearer of revealed knowledge. His reputation as an astrological *writer* persisted through the Byzantine period. Tzetzes (*Exeg. Iliad.* p. 33, 15; 54.1 Herm.=Dorotheus fr. IIIc-d Stegemann, Appendix III F 1-2 Pingree) includes him together with Dorotheus and Kolokyntos in a list of astrological writers. Pseudo-Clement's association of Anoubion with Egypt and Diospolis may mean that the name conveyed hieratic associations (the author of the Manethoniana adopted his pen-name not from a god but from the famous Ptolemaic Egyptian priest and historian) or local colour.

At the same time the relative dating of Anoubion and Manetho is not clear. Judged by his simpler, lapidary constructions, limited poetic vocabulary, and the absence of rhetorical exempla (see below on **4504** ii 16; **4505** introd., fr. 2.9, 13), Anoubion might be a first or early second century intermediary between Dorotheus and the Manethoniana, or he might be an incompetent imitator of the latter. Gundel and Gundel, *Astrologoumena* 155, 380 accepting the identification with ps.-Clement's Anoubion, give the astrological poet a Neronian dating (or even earlier, if A. was indeed cited by the first century BC Antiochus of Athens, as suggested by Cumont, *CCAG* VIII 4.115; cf. D. Pingree, 'Antiochus and Rhetorius', *CPh* 72 (1977) 203-23); Pingree, *The Yavanajātaka of Sphudjādhvaja*, Harvard Oriental Series 48 (1978) ii 422 (I owe the reference to Alexander Jones) rejects the identification (but offers no reasons), and opts for a second-third century AD date, 'after Dorotheus and before Firmicus'. But since Dorotheus presents horoscopes for people born in a range from 7 BC to 43 AD, Anoubion could be late first century. **4503** and **4505** make it unlikely that he is to be dated after the second century. For the dating of the Manethoniana see J. R. Rea on XXXI **2546** (80 AD on the basis of the author's own horoscope); Gundel and Gundel, *Astrologoumena* 160, 380 (130-150 AD).

CONTENT: The proem of A.'s third book presents rudimentary principles for the *ὑρονόμοι* (the term employed unusually at **4503** front fr. 2.3, 11 to denote the decans) and the 'ruling signs' (the subtitle at **4505** fr. 2.12 *Περὶ τοῦ δεσπότο[υ]*), their subdivisions and influencing signs, and how to predict men's characters and futures based on the risings of these signs. Most of A.'s predictions are based on the *ὑποκόσμος* or sign that rises at the hour of one's birth, and thus derive from genethliological astrology. **4504**, however, also deals explicitly with the ruling sign (*δεσπότης*) of the marriage (a digression paralleled in Firmicus). Consultation of Anoubion's poem enabled someone who knew the arrangement of signs at the hour of one's birth or marriage to arrive at a prediction of one's character or fortune. It will not have told one how to compute that arrangement: for that task consultation of a calendrical table of computations or *ephemeris* will have been required (see Jones, *Apeiron* 27 (1994) 25-51).

Each prediction takes the form of a condition in *ἐάν* + subj. (or equivalent) specifying the arrangement of star-signs at birth (or marriage), followed by a statement in the

present or future indicative of the individual's character or fortune. This pattern, standard in all handbooks of divination, is repeated endlessly. The result is the compilation, by or for the astrologer, of a catalogue of tried and tested data, for purposes of reference, not continuous reading. Notably, however, almost all of A.'s surviving predictions are predictions of ill-omen. Most of them paradoxically involve Venus, whose influence is normally benefic in its own right. But in A.'s predictions the results are dire and unfortunate (**4503** back 6 ff. begins with a mixed blessing, but turns sour by its end), and reveal a predominance of concerns about eros together with marriage, family, and property—i.e. a sensational, dramatic version of what appear in the prose handbooks as desirable outcomes alternating with bad. This pattern changes, however, abruptly at the end of book 3 (as given in **4505**): the predictions change to good and the book ends on a positive note in a second person address (fr. 2.6) that offers a gesture of closure.

As a poet Anoubion emerges from the new fragments more rudimentary and concise in his formulation of astrological relationships than Dorotheus, and less refined than Manetho in versification and less elaborate in expression, though more innovative in metrical form. All three writers clearly worked in the same tradition, grafting the latest science of the day on to a data-base of purported past results, while striving for elegant poetic exposition.

It is unknown whether A. composed the poem of his own devising, or rather was versifying a prose *τέχνη*, in the way that Aratus had versified a prose treatise by Eudoxus, and Lucretius one by Epicurus. Perhaps A. drew on a prose source for the exposition of method and principles in the proem(s). The fact that the predictions in A.'s poem always begin with the hexameter (although they may be modified or specified in the pentameter) suggests that (apart from the proem) we have a modular collection of individually-turned astrological epigrams. The open-ended, expandable nature of A.'s collection (like the Manethoniana), and the epigrammatic form of the predictions cast in elegiac distichs raise the possibility that it may have been redacted and excerpted or augmented over time. Multiple redaction and anthologisation is exactly what we would expect to lead to the kind of textual disruption we find in the fragments and mss.: prose headings in **4505** and III **464**, lines which have dropped between successive hexameters or pentameters in **4503-4505**, P. Schubart 15, and Manetho book 5.

Exact audience and readership, whether practical or literary or both, remains a point for speculation. That no fewer than four (and possibly as many as eight) copies of A. survive on papyrus from Oxyrhynchus alone suggests a vogue for the practice of astrology, and a wide dissemination for the work. (The provenance of P. Schubart 15 is unknown: cf. O. Neugebauer and H. B. van Hoesen, 'Astrological Papyri and Ostraca: Bibliographical Notes', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 108 (1964) 58: from the 'Collection Reinhardt'). The papyrus copies also attest a fascination among the classes that could afford to cultivate astrological erudition in a literary and metrically refined form. On poetry as an Egyptian preference in literary studies, see J. R. Rea on LXIII **4352** introd.; E. L. Bowie, *ANRW* II 33.1 (1989) 209-58 at 230 ff.; on elegiacs: id. in *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire* (BICS Suppl. 55) 204 ff.



It is likely that A.'s survival in the papyri is due to prominence at Alexandria (where his presence is attested by ps.-Clement) and editorial activity there, though it is not impossible that copies of his poem made their way to Oxyrhynchus from Theban or other temple-centres. Since Oxyrhynchus has so far not shown any connection between predictive astrology and temple activities (Jones, *Apeiron* 27 (1994) 46, cf. XXXI 2553 Calendar of Offerings), interest in the poem there might be assumed to be secular and/or professional. (On the other hand, we do not have precise provenances for the surviving Oxyrhynchus astrological papyri.) Verse was a common mode of presenting technical subjects for practical use (cf. Apollodorus of Athens' *Chronica* in iambic trimeters). From Aratus to Dorotheus the hexameter had long since been the medium of choice for astronomical and astrological poetry (as for oracles in general). (For didactic poems on astrology of Byzantine date, see W. Hübner, *Pallas* 30 (1985) 4 n. 16.) The choice of elegiac metre marks A.'s poem out as exceptional. Apart from literary and funerary epigrams, elegiacs are rare in the imperial period, especially for technical or narrative exposition. Ovid's use of elegiacs to cast Latin love poetry in didactic form, and later for his technical exposition of the Roman calendar, provides a precedent in the Latin tradition. The *Καταστερικμῶν ... materis scripta elegis*, which Pliny the Younger *Epist.* V 17,<sup>1</sup> heard Calpurnius Piso recite in *auditorio* might be contemporary with A. (part of a vogue?). In Greek, elegiacs of the imperial period are more often of informal production, unambitious in scope, and are found on papyrus often written (like 4503 and 4505) in informal scripts (cf. 4501–4502). For a didactic instance see Andromachus' *De theriaca ex viperis* quoted in its entirety by Galen (no. 62 in Heitsch, *GDRK* vol. 2 pp. 8–15), dedicated and addressed to Nero, with a closing invocation to Paion, complete in 87 elegiac distichs, which suggests a small compass (antecedents for elegiacs on medical prescriptions in Aglaïas, *SH* 18, and even earlier in Philo of Tarsus, *SH* 690, Eudemus *SH* 4.12A). For some unusual examples see LIV 3723 (ii AD) a versified list of mythological exempla on the *servitium amoris*, especially gods and their boy-loves. J. R. Rea has suggested that the basic subject was the love of the Emperor Hadrian for his favourite Antinoos, who drowned in the Nile and was a favoured subject with Greek-Egyptian poets (see most recently LXIII 4352; cf. however R. Führer, *ZPE* 122 (1998) 47–8). The division between elegy and epigram is not always clear: see XXXI 2532 (iii AD) on people who get gout; *P.Lond.* 256 R = *PLit.Lond* 62 = Page, *Select Papyri* III no. 113 (= *SH* 982), an elegiac poem or epigram celebrating Octavian's victory at Actium in a Greek-Egyptian context (where its placement as an epigram on a monument at Actium is a patent literary fiction: see S. Barbantani, *Aevum Antiquum* 11 (1998) 5–104). Later examples are even rarer: some by Gregory of Nazianzus, and a fragmentary encomium, no. 31 in Heitsch, *GDRK*. 'Otherwise they fall out of favour for long poems' (West, *Greek Metre*, p. 181).

These instances show the range of productions that could command an elegiac form on Greek papyri from Egypt in the imperial period. A didactic poem on astrology expands the repertoire in an unexpected direction.

POETIC FORM AND DICTION: Anoubion writes in an artificial poetic language that is an amalgam of Homeric and later epic, with a preponderance of Ionic forms and many variants which exist only for convenience in observing strict versification. Poetic equivalents of names of the planets are those familiar from Dorotheus and the Manethoniana, e.g. Mercury = *Στῆλβων*; Sol = *Ἥλιος*, *Φαέθων*, sometimes *Δαίμων*; Mars = *Πυρροίε*; Venus = *Φωσφόρος*, *Κύπρις*, *Κυθήρεια*; Saturn = *Κρόνος* (*Φαίων* at 4504 ii 15); Jupiter = *Κρονίδης* or *Κρονίω*; Moon = *Μήνη*, ἢ *Κερρόεσσα* (use of Aries = *Κριάς*; Virgo, Capricornus, Libra, Taurus, Pisces so far are not attested in the fragments of A.); ascendant sign = *ᾠροσκόπος*, *ζῳδιον*, *ᾠρονόμος* (the last in A. ap. Hephaestion 2.2 vv. 1–2, but with a different meaning in 4503 front fr. 2.3); horoscope, geniture, chart = *θέμα*. In addition there is a wide array of poetic epithets which typically accompany or sometimes substitute for a given sign, e.g. *ἀλοός*, 'baneful' of Mars (4504 ii 14). In the Manethoniana we find a wider repertoire of equivalent epithets for the signs; A. seems constrained and repetitious by comparison, precariously succinct, leaving much to the understanding of his reader. Firmicus' prose version is painfully prolix by comparison. The author of the Manethoniana, writing in the same idiom, is closer to Anoubion, but has a wider range of poetic and technical vocabulary at his disposal, a more variable set of alternative expressions to say the same things. With his similarities to the language of Dorotheus, A. shows a unique combination of outright dependence on his predecessors, knavish thievery of their terms and expressions, in a cookbook-style compilation, to produce something new, involving insouciant variation in formulation of positions and predictions in a science in which one might suspect that even slight variation could have dire consequences for accuracy.

METRE AND VERSIFICATION: Elegiac couplet. Composition is stichic, with units beginning regularly with the hexameter, and ideas frequently confined to individual verses in the distichs. Technique belies suspicion that this is a writer entirely devoid of technical competence in versification. Of post-Callimachean strictures in quantitative verse, some are observed some of the time. Wherever we can tell, practice does not differ substantially between 4503–4507, nor between these taken together with P. Schubart 15 and the verses quoted from A. by later authors. Special treatment of the accent at the caesura or line-end is most prominent: viz. in the pentameter an attempt to fix the final accent and accent at the caesura. Such treatment stands at the beginning of the shift from quantitative to accentual verse: Maas, *Greek Metre* §§ 21–2; A. Dihle, *Hermes* 82 (1954) 182–9; West, *Greek Metre* pp. 159, 162, 181–2. Already Snell observed (ap. P. Schubart 15) that more often than not A. ends his pentameters with a paroxytone word. This is so in 24 out of the 38 certain cases (in 4503–5 and including—as in what follows—the six certain instances in P. Schubart 15, and 11 in fragments quoted from A. in the secondary tradition, but not counting uncertain and restored instances). When they do not end in paroxytones, they tend to be proparoxytones (7 out of 38); only 4 out of the 38 are in fact oxytones. Thus a more accurate way of describing A.'s metrical

preference would be to say that oxytone words are avoided at the end of the pentameter (cf. Maas, *Greek Metre* § 21; West, *Greek Metre* p. 159). Oxytones are similarly avoided at the caesura in the pentameter (Maas, *Greek Metre* § 22), though less so than at the end (12 out of the 42 certain instances at caesura are oxytone). A short syllable long by position before the caesura of the pentameter is generally avoided (Maas, *Greek Metre* § 22; Gow-Page, *GP* vol. 1, p. xli): only 5 instances out of 46; the percentages given by West, *Greek Metre* pp. 158 and 182 are instructive: A. is more strict than Asclepiades and Posidippus (14.4%), more in the range of Crinagoras (9.7%), Lucilius or Nicarchus (11.9%), less strict than Philodemus (1.1%). A monosyllable before the caesura is strictly avoided, as at the end (West, *Greek Metre* p. 158). Word end after the 'second trochee' of the pentameter is roughly avoided (only 6 out of 42 instances). The pentameter regularly has a caesura where expected.

In the hexameter A. likewise observes regular caesurae, with a slightly higher occurrence of the feminine. As in Callimachus, elision is avoided at the caesura (West, *Greek Metre* p. 153). Hilberg's law (no word-end after a monosyllabic i.e. uncontracted second biceps: Maas, *Greek Metre* § 92) is regularly observed. Naeke's law (no word-end after a contracted fourth biceps) is perhaps once violated (**4503** front fr. 2.11 if A. wrote the enclitic *τοι* and not the prepositive *τό*; **4504** ii 2 is mitigated by elision; **4504** ii 17 and P. Schubart 15.34 are not relevant since prepositives there are not in violation), though it is never so violated in Callimachus. There are two spondaic fifth feet (**4503** front fr. 2.5; back fr. 2.5). Hermann's bridge, as we would expect from any competent versifier in Greek, is always observed, except at **4503** back fr. 2.3 (but mitigated by elision). Hexameters with masculine caesurae usually do have as expected a secondary caesura after the seventh element or the eighth (Bucolic Diaeresis), but not at **4503** back fr. 2.9, **4504** ii 19. However, there is distinctly no Callimachean or Nonnian preference for a disyllabic i.e. uncontracted biceps in the third foot, when the secondary caesura falls before or after the biceps of the fourth foot (Maas, *Greek Metre* § 93), though there are examples at **4503** front fr. 2.11, **4504** ii 2, 12, A. ap. Hephaestion 2.2 (p. 90–1 Pingree) vv. 3, 9, 11. Giseke's rule (no word-end after the fourth element or 'second trochee') is generally observed (Maas, *Greek Metre* §§ 94–5), at least in 37 out of 40 instances: there are exceptions at **4503** back fr. 2.11, **4504** ii 2, **4505** fr. 2.5 (but elision there). But word-end after the princeps of both the fourth and fifth feet, avoided by strict post-Callimachean versifiers, especially Nonnus (Maas, *Greek Metre* § 97) is oddly allowed at **4503** back fr. 2.11, **4504** ii 8, 12, 14, A. ap. Hephaestion 2.2 v. 11—all lines with masculine caesurae—though this never occurs in Nonnus. It is at least fair to say that A. exhibits a developing interest in post-Callimachean refinements, though he does not follow them consistently. Several instances of hiatus (**4503** front fr. 1.2, back fr. 2.5) are notable shortcomings in his aspirations as a Hellenistic versifier.

The Manethoniana are cited by the edition of Arminius Koechly, *Manethoniana* (Leipzig 1858), whose order of books (different from the ms.) is followed here only for convenience of reference. For advice on astrological and scientific matters we are grateful to Professor Alexander Jones.

**4503. ANOUBION, ELEGIACS**

57/6 (c)

7.3 × 0.8 cm (fr. 1)  
9.4 × 7.5 cm (fr. 2)Third century  
Plates XI–XII

A fragment written on both sides, containing at least 15 lines in elegiac distichs with foot of column (fr. 2); a detached piece (fr. 1) has along the fibres parts of three lines, followed by line beginnings of a second column. Thus we could have a miniature codex. Front fr. 1 could be a bifolium (page width 9.5 cm: Turner, *Typology* 22; cf. the slightly larger Homer Oracle **3831**, another handbook to the future at hexameter width). On the other hand, there is no sign of a fold, and in that case because of the relation of front to back in fr. 2 it must come from the upper portion of the page or column preceding front fr. 2 (the bottom is excluded because the line beginnings preserved by fr. 1 col. ii do not match front fr. 2.13–14). Also, the introductory content of front fr. 1 indicates close proximity to that of front fr. 2, suggesting that it came from the upper portion of the column containing front fr. 2. If so, we would have a (miniature) double column codex (Turner, *Typology* 36; see also on back fr. 2.3). The possibility of a small opisthograph roll is discouraged by the scribe's habit of shortening the extension of the hexameter lines at the right by squeezing in above the line parts of the last word or so but one (thus in effect justifying the right margin), due either to lack of space or in order to conserve it for another column of writing at the right, whereas an extended sheet would have allowed for the writing of full hexameter-length lines. However, it is not impossible that we have a single sheet, containing in several columns per side a much abridged version or excerpts of the poem (see on back fr. 2.3). Fr. 1 may be from a different column and codex leaf than fr. 2, though the content and the parallel sequence in the Latin version suggest it is part of the preceding discussion (see on front fr. 1 col. ii), and certainly that fr. 1 front precedes fr. 2 front.

The hand is a slovenly half-cursive, small and round (though hardly a book hand), rapidly written, with many ligatures and strong cursive tendencies, though still retaining independently formed capital shapes in most letters (e.g. *ν*, *ω*). In places its appearance is hasty and amateurish, increasing the chance that the text is corrupt. The scribe writes a v-shaped hypsilon (arcing out emphatically at line-end: back fr. 2.10), and *c* in a similar movement, usually with connecting stroke sloping into lower half, then changing direction and coming back up from base-line to create a lunate shape, sometimes coming all the way over the top, and even falling completely forward and dipping below the base-line when the following letter is *ι*, in which case the shape is easily confused with *π*; note same basic shape as *c* in hull of *ε*, with centre-stroke connected in a zig-zag. *τ* sometimes with a right-curving hook at bottom of upright, as sometimes also on tail of *ρ*, and on the foot of the right upright of *π* which, with its curved top, often confusingly approximates the shape of the sigma-iota ligature (e.g. front fr. 2.10). *μ* with low rounded saddle and curved sides; *η* with curving right side; *κ* with both arms detached from the

upright, connected only with a curve at base-line.  $\beta$  with broad flat bottom and open at the top (back fr. 2.2, 12).  $\psi$  with 90-degree cross-bar (back fr. 2.6). Tiny, floating omicron, often not closed at top or right.  $\delta$  with sagging bottom.  $\omega$  independently formed and rounded. Diminutive zig-zag  $\zeta$ , but swashbuckling  $\xi$  (front fr. 2.2). Little decoration, no contrast between thick and thin strokes, but some hybrid-style contrast between thin or small letters ( $\iota$ ,  $o$ ) and wider ones ( $\nu$ ,  $\pi$ ).  $\iota$  and vertical of  $\phi$  frequently reach from bottom line of preceding line to the top-line of the line below. Initial letters slightly enlarged, and the whole leaning slightly to the right. The writing could be as early as ii AD (so E. G. Turner in an inventory note: 'looks early'), though this is discouraged by the swooping tail of alpha at the end of front fr. 2.10. A date in the later third century cannot be ruled out, and a few features could perhaps be comfortably placed even in early iv; but in general the impression given is of the earlier period.

The hand is to be compared with XXXI 2553 Calendar of Offerings, dated to late ii or early iii, and P. Ryl. III 463 (Roberts, *GLH* no. 20c) Gospel of Mary, middle of iii AD (assigned); cf. also Roberts, *GLH* 20b Edict of Prefect 206, and for an even earlier close parallel (especially for alpha and upsilon) see V 842 *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (Roberts, *GLH* n. 17b), second half of ii (assigned). For an early non-Christian literary text in codex form compare XLIV 3157 (Plato, *Resp.* X) ii AD (assigned).

Front and back can be easily inferred from content: the front, written along the fibres, concerns basic principles of astrology, to which introductory sections of book two of Firmicus Maternus' *Mathesis* correspond. This will have come early in the book; presumably from a proem. A reader (was he named?) is addressed as a would-be practitioner of the art; his presence in the proem might have been predicted from second-person verbs in the later fragments of the poem (see on front fr. 2.6). On the back and across the fibres there is more introductory material (or perhaps a transitional passage between sections or predictions) advising the addressee on divinatory procedure, then one complete prediction and the beginning of the next, which, like those of 4504 and 4505, find parallels in exactly the same order in book six of Firmicus. Whether or not the front was the first page of the codex itself is unknown, since the height of the column is unrecoverable. Front fr. 1 gives the number of the zodiacal signs (presumably it went on to give their names); fr. 2 treats the astrological decans. Assuming that fr. 1 is part of the same column as fr. 2 (see above, and on fr. 1 col. ii), it is at least possible that the book began with this page and column—especially if Anoubion's proem was as lapidary and succinct (in comparison with Firmicus' Latin rendering) as we find in the other fragments, unless of course the codex contained the first two books of Anoubion's poem in addition to the third.

If back fr. 2.3–6 is not more introductory material but a transitional passage between predictions, the parallel sections preceding in Firmicus suggest that about 21 predictions should have intervened—which perhaps could have fitted into the

minimum lacuna of a second and third column (on the front and back of the page respectively). See on back fr. 2.3. On the other hand the fact that the first preserved prediction begins (back fr. 2.7) with *ἀτύκῃ γὰρ* suggests a plan of organisation in which this prediction thus introduced began a new section, rather than separating predictions of the same or of a miscellaneous nature, as is the case in the parallel series in Firmicus.

Intercolumnium on fr. 2 is at least 1.1 cm; on front fr. 1 2.4 cm. The maximum width of the column (fr. 2) is 8.2 cm in full length hexameter lines (though the longer ones have been shortened: see below).

The scribe used few reading marks. A second hand may have placed a single grave accent in brown ink over alpha (if it is not simply a smudge) at back fr. 2.11. There are no breathings, no tremata or quantity marks. Spaces between words are sometimes employed (as indicated in the diplomatic transcript, below: e.g. back fr. 2.6 *διακρειων κειμυ*; 11 *κορην αλ*). Otherwise the only punctuation is a single paragraphos after back fr. 2.2. While coinciding with a full stop, this however seems also to mark a new section in the poem.

Elision is consistently effected but not marked. Apostrophes are written after an elided  $\theta\epsilon$  (read  $\tau\epsilon$ ) in front fr. 2.6 before *ιδίους*, after an elided  $\delta\epsilon$  in front fr. 2.8a, and after an elided  $-\tau\alpha$  in front fr. 2.9. Hiatus is occasionally tolerated, written in scriptio plena, once at back fr. 2.5 (*τινα ἐκτελέουσι*) and at front fr. 1.2 (*ζῳδιά εἶεν*), but elision effected at back fr. 2.3 *ζῳδι' ἐν*. At front fr. 2.2 and 12 there is hiatus at caesura in the pentameter. In the other cases such hiatus shortens a preceding long vowel by corruption (fr. 2 front 5 bis *πολύμορφοι ἐπίτροφοι ἀντέλλοντες*; 8a *τό{c}χοι ἀστέρεις*). Iota adscript is not written. The scribe effects assimilation of consonants where we would expect it (back fr. 2.5 *ἀγγελεια*; 9 *κύμβιον*). There is only one itacistic spelling: back fr. 2.6 *διακρεῖων*.

Superscript and subscript sequences of letters appear, made internally at the time of writing in order to shorten the length of the line; there is an attempt to return to the normal level at line-end (e.g. front fr. 2.11). There are here and there uncorrected omissions of syllables necessary for the metre (front fr. 2.5; back fr. 2.3), which can sometimes be divined. The scribe wrote at least one adventitious but uncorrected double consonant (front fr. 2.8a *τόσσοι*) which spoils the metre. In two cases pentameters have dropped (out of 30 distichs, i.e. ca. 7%, cf. 4504, where one hexameter has dropped out of a dozen preserved distichs; in P. Schubart 15 one hexameter has dropped out of at least eight distichs).

Although the informal, cursive tendencies of the hand (together with uncorrected omissions and other infelicities) might be thought appropriate in a text of subliterate content, 4503 was clearly designed to be a book, and to reproduce literature. The scribe's consistent attempt to alter the shape of the column to fit his format of writing, namely by shortening the hexameter to the length of the pentameter, shows attention



with descender dipping below, then left centre and part of centre-stroke of ε, followed by right half of high, tiny bowl, possibly ρ for θ' read τ' (?) 7a [ . . . ], ghosts of two uprights 8 δ' μ, after the apostrophe, bottom of rounded letter with part of a horizontal centred above at mid-level, after which the saddle and right side of μ are clear ν, arms of v-shaped ν converging at base-line, faint ink on damaged surface after τ, a round blob of ink as though dangling from the right end of cross-bar of τ, about the size of an omicron, but filled-in with ink in the centre: a cancelled omicron? then a small circular letter with the shape of omicron, closed at top (as the sigma is often not), but not quite closed at lower right, thus ρ, but c not ruled out 9 see line-note μεινη written inferior 10 see line-note 11 διονουτοι written inferior 12 ] τολ, before τολ an upright, possibly with connection to left at bottom, thus ν, the τ following is ligatured to ο with an open top 13 επ . . . ], after επ traces of two letters which have left short horizontals at bottom and (seemingly) top, but with rounded centres, ο or ρ possible for the first, possibly ζ or δ for the second 14 ] π . . . ], after π, α or ου

↓Fr. 2

1 No shortage of traces, but nothing distinct 2 ναλλ, before ν top of rounded letter, plus zig-zag connection of centre-stroke suggesting ε 3 εν . . . ], after εν ghost of a round letter followed by an upright; then ε, which may have fallen forward into ι (which is however not clearly visible); then upright and part of cross bar at top right, compatible with τ before epsilon 7 for κυβερεια read κυβερεια κρο, upright on edge, e.g. ι, ν, η 10 see line-note 11 χηράν apparently, either grave accent by second hand in brown ink, or perhaps just accidental stain 12 α . . . ], see line-note 13 ] . . . ], after the lacuna perhaps two letters, one at line level and one shortly after but raised-up, the first possibly c or ε, the second ε; the following letter (also raised) before ου may well be τ, with its top stroke uncharacteristically arched 2, γ', the typical left loop of α is discernible, with tail at right possibly converging into base of an upright, then bottom(s) of a rounded letter, ο or ω, followed by a letter which resembles ν, but with a very short left upright and a right upright slanting out to right at top somewhat more than would be expected 14 cε[ , likely c connecting to another which is less rounded: ε or π? (γγ ruled out), then a top of a rounded letter reaching higher, but with an apex in centre that suggests ε rather more than ο (the latter not excluded) 15 . . . ], hook up and down at level of top-line, as though top of rounded letter, followed by three uprights with connecting strokes obscured γεμ, the first letter possibly c or γ, last letter could be ν or π or κ in ligature ο . . . ], left hand leg of λ, left loop of a clumsily written alpha, or ε . . . ], κ, before κ a horizontal connecting at mid-level, possibly with a tip of an arm above, ε suggested και, the κ by no means certain: possibly β? . . . ], circled high over the line (ο written suprascript?)

→(front) Fr. 1, col. i

1 . . . ] . . . ] . . . ] . . . ] . . . ] . . . ] . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ] δυοκαίδεκα ζώδιά εἶεν  
 ] . . . ] . . . ] . . . ] . . . ] . . . ]

→(front) Fr. 1, col. ii

1 α[  
 λ . [

→Fr. 2

[ . . . ] . . . ] . . . ] . . . ] . . . ] . . . ] . . . ] . . . ]  
 [ ca. 4 ] ετοι πρότεροι ἐξ και[ ] . . . ]  
 ὠρονόμοι, μέγα θαῦμα γένος φύσεως ἐς' ἀθρή' και,  
 ἄφραστοι· κείνοι δ' εἰςὶ πάρα σχεδόθεν  
 5 παντοφ(όρ)οι πολύμορφοι ἐπίτροφοι ἀντέλλοντες.  
 ἀ[θ]ρήρη δ' ἐτέροις εἰν ὀρίοις θ' ἰδίοις  
 7a τρεῖς ἐν [ἐ]νὶ ζώφω οὐκ δὴ καλέουσι δεκανοὺς  
 7b < >  
 8a ἄλλοι δ' ἐμ φαύλοισι τός{ε}οι ἀκτέρες ὄντες ἔασι  
 8b < >  
 9 οἱ μὲν ἔπονθ' ἴνα πάντα τὰ θέσφατα ἄπαντοτ' μείνη  
 10 λειτουρ[γ]οῖ ἐμνοῖ τρεῖς περιέεικον ἔνα  
 ὠρονό[μ]οι κρατερόν· περὶ γὰρ τὸ {ι} ζώ' διον  
 οὔτοι ἐννέα λειτουργοὶ [ἀ]ντολήν ἔλαχον.  
 ἀλλ' οἱ δεσπόζ[ου]σιν ἐπαντέλλοντες ὁμοίως  
 [ . . . ] . . . ] . . . ] . . . ] π . . . ] . . . ] ἀπειρέσιον

(4.1) singula signa in tres partes dividuntur, singulae autem partes habent singulos decanos, ut sint in singulis signis terni decani, quorum singuli ex triginta partibus decanas possident partes et dominium suum ac potestatem in X partes ceterunt. sunt autem infinitae potestatis et infinitae licentiae et qui fata hominum suae potestatis auctoritate designat, etc. . . . (4.4) quidam hunc uolentes suptilius explicare terna numina decanis singulis applicarunt, quos munifices appellandos (A, Kroll et al.: applicandos PR, Monat) id est liturgos (seclusit Monat) ita ut per signa singula nouem possint munifices inueniri, ut ternis munificibus decani singuli praeficerantur. (4.5) rursus nouem munifices, quos singulis signis dicunt esse constitutos, per infinitas diuiduntur numinum potestates; ab his enim dicunt repetitos casus, dolores, aegritudines, frigus febresque decerni et quicquid illud est, quod solet nec sperantibus nec scientibus enuenire; per hos uolunt monstruosos ab hominibus edi partus. (4.6) sed hanc nos partem in isto institutionis libro necessario praeterimus; nam et Graeci, qui secreta istius conati sunt disputationis attingere, in primis uestigiis constitutionis istum tractatum cum quodam dissimulationis fastidio reliquerunt.

(Firm. Mat. Math. 2.1.1-2, 2.4.1-6)

(1.1) zodiacus orbis, in quo duodecim signa infixae sunt, per quem quinque planetae, Sol etiam et Luna cursus suos dirigit, obliqua semper agitatione torquetur. (1.2) signa autem ipsa duodecim his nominibus nominantur: Aries, Taurus, etc.



of the heavens) and for a decan, recalling the old Egyptian use of the decans as time-reckoning constellations. Cf. line 7 where A. refers to sections of the zodiac such that each zodiacal sign contains three, i.e. decans. Here they are subjects of a programmatic discussion at the opening of Anoubion's poem. But it is hard to connect this discussion with the topics of the verses on the other side of the fragment. (See further below on 13.)

There is room for a letter between *ωρονόμοι* and *μεγα*. Thus e.g. *ώρονόμοι[ε]* could be read. But the scribe sometimes leaves spaces between words, and the nominative seems to cohere with those that follow. A verb like *δύναται* or *δυνατοί εστι* might be envisaged in the preceding lines to complete the construction.

*μέγα θαύμα*: ll. 13.99 = 15.286 = 20.344 = 21.54, with inf. (*ιδέσθαι*) 5.725 = 10.439 = 18. 83, 377. See Sider on Philod. *Epigr.* 18.3. One would expect it to be parenthetical: so twice in Aratus; Manetho 5.32 *ἀρκενικοί ἔργουσι ἀναγκάζουσι γυναικας / τέρπεσθαι, μέγα θαύμα*: women under certain signs are driven to delight in masculine pursuits, a *μέγα θαύμα*. Alternatively we could read *ώρονόμοι[ε]* with *εστι* understood: 'it is a marvellous thing for the hour-regulators to aspect the type of birth'; or 'it is a marvellous thing (for you? cf. second person address in 6) to look to the type of birth among the hour-regulators'. But we would be lacking a connective, and in any case the nominative *ώρονόμοι* in 3 is encouraged by the string of nominative epithets which follow in 4–5.

*φύσεις*: it is unclear whether the *φύσεις* in question is (i) that of the *ώρονόμοι* themselves, together with their influences, or (ii) the personal character of the individuals thus influenced. (i) is suggested by the introductory nature of the passage; (ii) however, is supported by the fact that *ἐκαθρέφω* normally describes (see below) the activity of astrological entities in fixing their locations and thus individual destinies.

*ἐκαθρέφω*: ll. 3.450 etc. (*εστ-, εστ-*) = *adspicio*, usually describing the position of a particular sign relative to another, but that does not seem to be the case here. At Manetho 4.557 the verb is employed to express the prediction itself: *δέξφόβοι λυπηρόν βύτου τέλος ἀθήρουσιν*.

4–5 An encomium on the marvels (3 *μέγα θαύμα*) of the hour-regulators: their qualities (3–5); although *ἔφραστοι* (4) they are to be observed by the would-be astrologer (6a), since they determine the truth of the predictions he reports (9). They are multifiform and multivalent, influence one another (or arc itinerant: see below), and rise into various configurations, presumably with predictable effects when 'within their own boundaries or those of others' (6a). Their positions are given (8a); they are subdivided into the subordinate but potentially influential *λειτουργοί* (7a, 10–12); through them all divine fates abide (9). Cf. the similar general description of the planets at Manetho 3.20–34. This is described in an asyndetic string of adjectives with *εστι* (4) (4505 fr. 2.7–10 may be compared for a parallel), in the character of an incantatory litany reminiscent of the magical papyri.

4 κ...οι δεισι *παρε*: Among possible readings, only *κείμενοι* or perhaps *κλ(ε)νωί* (this itacism not elsewhere in the fragment) suit traces, sense, and metre. Thus articulate –οι δ' *εστι παρε* (the first and last apparently so articulated by the scribe himself), beginning a new unit of sense. (For the elision of *δέ* at the caesura in the pentameter see West, *Greek Metre* p. 158.) *παρε* probably postpositive with *εστι*. *παρὰ* *εστ* would be a hapax (though A.R. 2.10, 859 and Oppian *Hal.* 5.104, 4.442 have *παρὰ* *εστ*).

5 παντοφ(όρ): (not in Manetho) seems a reasonable correction for the unmetrical *παντοφου*. *παντοφ(όρ)* (= the Universe at ps.-Apul. *Asclepius* 19) would spoil the metre.

*πολύμορφοι*: Manetho 6.31 comes in a general description similar to the present one.

*ἐπίτροφοι*: poetic and rare, not a technical term of astrology: *Od.* 1.177 (and 8.163 as emended by Ar. Byz. from vulg. *ἐπίσκοπος*), Aesch. *Agam.* 397 in a lyric context, 'conversant with', 'having dealings with', either with one another, or with men's lives. Alternatively the sense may be 'curved', 'winding', 'wandering', as at A.R. 2.979; Dion. Per. 75, i.e. of the paths of the stars.

*ἀντέλλουτες*: frequently in Manetho in a technical sense of the motion of the stars and signs through the heavens (= *οιαντες*).

6 ἀ[θ]ρήσει: ll. 10.11 etc.; *ἀθήσει* at line beginning; Manetho 3.45. But here (as in 3) it has a different meaning (though see Manetho 4.557 and *ἐκαθρέφω* above in 3), with the addressee as apprentice or potential practitioner of astrology as subject. Also unusually here Anoubion begins a new sentence with the pentameter. But possibly the anomaly is due to the fact that the line comes in the poem which sets out the principles of the system, rather than in the more modular predictions which have been encapsulated into individual epigrams. For the second person address see further on back fr. 2.3, 5 and intro. to 4503–7.

*ἐτέροις ἐν ἑσίοις θ' ἰδίοις*: lit. 'in their own and in different boundaries', where *ἐτέροις ἑσίοις*, if correctly read, is apparently a brachylogy for 'in the boundaries of different hour-regulators': i.e. they have different effects, depending on whether, at the birth of an individual, they are in their own boundaries or those of

other *ώρονόμοι* (or signs?). Cf. back fr. 2.8 *ε(λ)ν ἰδίοις τόποις* with note; Manetho 4.265 *ἐν θ' ὁρίοι ἰδίοις δουδεκατημέροις*, 6.33 in a general description *ἐν ἰδίοις ὁρίοις ἡμέρας ἡδὲ τ' ἐν οἰκείσιν*. In *ἐτέροις* the τ is abnormally low in the line, with the horizontal approaching the level of the base-line and the upright descending below. After *ὁρίοις* presumably τ' should be read, the elision here marked by apostrophe, but it is not easy to see why θ should have been written (induced by reading back to *ὁρίοις*?); cf. on 4505 fr. 2.6. For the interchange of the aspirated for voiceless dental in documentary papyri, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 87 with examples (none given involving τ, nor of the phenomenon in elision, cf. p. 317). Desapiration (the reverse phenomenon) is more common.

7a ἐν [ε]ν[ε] ζώων: Firmicus' in *singulis*; cf. 4504 ii 10. Manetho commonly uses ζών of an individual sign, equivalent to ζώδιον, often with the addition of an epithet to specify which one. So also in Anoubion at 4504 ii 13.

καλέουσι: sc. 'men'.

δεκανοῦς: according to Monat the Budé editor (vol. 1 p. 158 n. 20), in Firmicus decans refer not to the spaces of ten degrees (the Zodiac divided into 36 parts), but to one or another of the stars in signs which are not their primary place (τόπος). But Anoubion makes clear that we here have the 36 astrological decans, i.e. the uniform 10 degree decans, three for each of the 12 ζώδια (front fr. 1.2). Further on the decans see Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astrological Texts* iii 105–74; Bouché-Leclercq, *Lastronomie grecque* p. 216 with n. 3; Gundel and Gundel, *Astrologoumena*, index s.v. 'Dekane'. The parallel passage in Firmicus 4.4 is expounded at greater length and detail at 4.22, where it is apologised that Petosiris and Nchepso treated the doctrine at an insufficient length (cf. 4.2 where it is certain *Graeci* who treated it too lightly), not because they did not know it, but because of its secrecy. The decans probably were an Egyptian contribution to the science: see above on 3; Schott in Gundel's *Dekane und Dekansterbilder* (Stud. Bibl. Warb. 19, 1934), 1–36; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* i 434–9 with notes. The decans also appear with their Egyptian names on the ivory tablet from Grand: S. H. Abry & A. Buisson, *Les tablettes astrologiques de Grand (Vosges) et l'astrologie en Gaule romaine*, Collection du Centre d'Etudes romaines et Gallo-romaines NS 12 (Lyon 1993) (a reference I owe to W. Clarysse).

7b–8b There is no immediately discernible reason why the lines should have dropped, or why pentameters should have been lost here, rather than hexameters as at 4504 ii 15 and in P. Schubart 15.35. It is not impossible that an additional distich has dropped, judged from the Latin, though not necessarily so and probably not more than one in each case.

8a ἄλλοι δ(ε): Is the contrast between the influential *ώρονόμοι* = decans and inferior bodies, or between one type of *ώρονόμοι* like the decans and another, the *λειτουργοί*?

ἐμ φαίλοισι: presumably the bad places of exaltation mentioned by Firmicus at 2.4.5; cf. Manetho 2.362 *σχῆμα φέλει φαίλοισι τε καὶ ἐσθλοῖσι ἀστράσι πάσων*.

τ(ε)ροι: τ(ε)ροι, though palaeographically possible, will not scan. The scribe may have been led astray by the series of round shapes, producing one too many. The round letter after τ has an ink-filled centre: possibly the scribe has blotted it out in cancellation. The first c could then be read as o (though it seems not to have been closed at right), in which case we should print τ[ο]ροι. Yet the correction is not an obvious one (cf. back fr. 2.10).

9 'qui (sc. decani) fata hominum suae potestatis auctoritate designat'. So Firmicus, where the Greek, however, seems to mean: 'These ... are in control in order that all divine decrees always while tending abide ...'.

οἱ μέν: i.e. one type of *ώρονόμοι* (construe with 10 *λειτουργοί*?). The contrast in μέν is apparently with 13 ἄλλοι(α), cf. 8a ἄλλοι δ(ε). But the exact division remains uncertain, owing to the loss of 7b and 8b, and the obscurity of 13–14.

ἐπινοῦθ' ἴνα. After θ a large, ungainly apostrophe with blobs at top and bottom written above it (the one in 8, executed more neatly but still large, may be compared). It is difficult to decide between *ἐπινοῦθ'* and *ἐπινοῦθ'*. We could also have *ἐξροῦθ'*, but it is hard to see the force of the future, and this would give two main verbs with no connective.

θέσφατα: 'divine ordinances or decrees', in Homer sometimes completed by an infinitive. For the absolute use see Il. 5.64 *ὅτι τι θεῶν ἐκ θέσφατα ἦδη*. Echoes in Manetho: 1.207, 3.685 (quoted below on back fr. 2.6). πάντοτε: once in Philemon, but otherwise Hellenistic; often in Manetho, emphatically at 1.1 πάντοτε μὲν κόμοιο κατ' ἀλλήρα κοινανόντες.

10 'lena numina decanis singulis applicarunt, quos munifices appellandos id est liturgos'; but the Greek seems to mean: 'these three officers, who are august, are in control for one hour-regulator'.

λειτουργ[ο]ι: Monat, the Budé editor, attempts to excise *id est liturgos* as an intrusive gloss of a Greek







the selection of a prediction out of a series (such as the one in which this one appears in Firmicus) or out of a potentially large number of available predictions.

7 The letter after  $\kappa\upsilon\theta\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota$  is clearly  $\epsilon$  (for the shape, cf. line 12  $\delta\iota' \epsilon$ ), with its horizontal crossbar, in comparison to the down-swooping tail of  $\alpha$ ; thus a phonetic mistake? For the sigma of  $\epsilon\upsilon\nu$ , see 12  $\epsilon\upsilon\nu \tau\omicron\upsilon$ . This preposition, however, never appears post-positive in Manetho or Dorotheus. Contrary to the scribe's usual procedure for squeezing in words, here the final word, or rather the last two letters of it, seem to be raised, the line reaching the maximum length for the space, measured against the longest lines (cf. 11). At the far right edge, a trace of ink level with this line, probably just accidental ink.

8  $\epsilon(\iota)\nu$   $\iota\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\iota$   $\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\upsilon\iota$ : cf. front fr. 2.6  $\epsilon\iota\nu$   $\delta\rho\acute{\omicron}\iota\upsilon\iota$   $\theta'$   $\iota\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\iota$ . The first omicron in  $\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\upsilon\iota$  rather ineptly executed; but it is not, we think,  $\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\upsilon\iota$ . By  $\iota\delta\iota\omicron\upsilon\iota$  A. means in 'its (Venus) own' = *in signo vel in finibus Ueneris*. Firmicus plausibly interprets  $\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\upsilon\iota$  as referring to either the zodiacal signs ruled by Venus (i.e. Taurus and Libra) or the terms within any sign ruled by Venus.

$\delta\tau\epsilon\rho$ : with gen. commonly Homeric: *Il.* 1.498; compare Anoubion ap. Hephaestion 2.2 (p. 90 Pingree) v. 1  $\delta\tau\epsilon\rho$   $\delta\tau\epsilon\rho$ ; Manetho 5.41, 246  $\text{Ζηρός δτρερ}$ .

9–12 Firmicus 6.30.6 says exactly the opposite of Anoubion in 9. At least one of the astrologers has seriously erred. The discrepancy could be remedied by emending  $\sigma\upsilon$  in both cases in the papyrus to  $\eta$  (a phonetic slip? cf. 7  $\kappa\upsilon\theta\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota$ ); Manetho 3.506  $\alpha\delta\lambda\acute{\omicron}\nu \eta$   $\kappa\upsilon\theta\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota$   $\eta$   $\delta\omega\iota\delta\eta\varsigma$ . However 4504 ii 3 (where see note), in comparison with Firmicus 6.30.23 shows that the predictions could undergo some transformation in the tradition. Perhaps Firmicus corrects his predecessors, or perhaps he or an intermediary was the source of the mistake, rather than the scribe of 4503.

On the other hand, there are infelicities in A.'s version:  $\tau\epsilon$  only with the second  $\sigma\upsilon/\eta$  suggests lack of coordination, whereas the Latin neatly provides *aut ... aut*. The parallel prediction which follows in the Latin shows no correlative particle(s), where the Greek has  $\tau\epsilon ... \tau\epsilon$  (11). It is unusual to have a prediction expressed, as here, entirely in the negative: reading  $\sigma\upsilon ... \sigma\upsilon ... \tau\epsilon$  we are not told what kind of wife the configuration brings, only that she will not be poor or old.

Further complications enter at line 10, which lacks a connective particle, and is something of an afterthought, an asyndetic additional specification to the original configuration. Only after this additional specification in 10 do we find out what the wife positively will be like, and even the first half of 11 is expressed negatively. Though somewhat redundant, 9  $\epsilon\sigma\mu\beta\iota\omicron\nu ... \delta\iota\delta\omega\iota$  is in chiasmic arrangement with 12  $\epsilon\delta\omega\kappa'$   $\delta\lambda[\sigma\chi\omicron]\nu$  (the subject of both singular verbs being  $\kappa\upsilon\theta\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$  in 7). The postponement of the noun  $\delta\lambda\sigma\chi\omicron\nu$  (if correctly restored) until the end of 12, suggests that the entire series of adjectives in 9–12 is to be taken in reference to the same prediction/wife. Note, however, that in Firmicus (who ignores the qualification in 10), what was a single prediction in Anoubion has become two separate predictions, each with its own positive prediction for a different type of wife. In the second, Firmicus is explicit that the widow herself will be wealthy, whereas this is left to be inferred in the Greek, according to which wealth will be an additional blessing for one born under this configuration. (Firmicus similarly takes the prediction to be for a genethliacal horoscope, i.e. pertaining to the time of birth; this is nowhere specifically stated in the Greek.)

9 At the end,  $\delta\iota\delta\omega$  added suprascript at the time of writing (rather than by correction or omission) in order to limit the extension of the line into the right margin (similarly 13 below, and front fr. 2.3, 9, 11).

10  $\delta\epsilon\rho\eta$ : Suggested by Dr Coles. As read,  $\rho$  is a mere dot; if omicron, its entire centre is closed, like the one in the second  $\sigma\upsilon$  in 9 but even smaller.  $\epsilon$  seems to be swallowed up by a folded fibre: its top is a diagonal resting on vertical ink, sloping down from top at right, its left hand bowl and lower arc withering, a damaged  $\tau$  not ruled out; but  $\epsilon\rho\eta$  is senseless, likewise  $\delta$   $\tau\eta\eta$  and  $\delta$   $\tau\eta\eta$ . In  $\epsilon\chi\chi\epsilon$  the aorist is gnomic.

$\delta\upsilon\tau'$   $\delta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ : such an articulation might be seen behind Firmicus' *trigonica radiatiome respiciat* (cf. Manetho 4.336  $\delta\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\alpha\iota$ ;  $\delta\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\alpha\iota\varsigma$  would be unmetrical). But if so, Firmicus has supplied the planet (Jupiter) in such a position, missing in the Greek. We might have expected an epithet for Jupiter, but none in  $-\pi\omicron\varsigma$  or  $-\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$  suggest themselves, and even this would not have specified the configuration given by Firmicus. Reading  $\delta\upsilon$  (for  $\epsilon\delta\upsilon$ )  $\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\upsilon\iota$  seems convoluted and redundant with  $\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\upsilon\iota$  standing at line-end. The first letter could instead be an omicron cancelled with a diagonal stroke. After  $\nu$ , there is a horizontal ink at the level of the top-line, connecting to a rounded top following. The letter before  $\sigma\epsilon$  is either  $\pi$  or the scribe's easily confused  $\epsilon$  ligature (cf. front fr. 2.4  $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$ ; for the shape). Could  $\text{Νόστιος}$  be considered?

11  $\sigma\upsilon$   $\delta\iota\delta\omega\iota$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\eta\eta$ : 'but certainly not a maiden either', i.e. a mixed blessing, first qualifying, then giving the positive complement, to the negative formulation in 10: 'but rather one both widowed and young, I swear, with indeed a good deal of substance too, as a wife'.

$\delta\lambda\lambda'$   $\tilde{\eta}$ : There is some reason to expect  $\delta\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$  and the last letter is compatible with  $\alpha$ . But a long syllable will be required.  $\tilde{\eta}$  is more guesswork than read (this combination not paralleled in Manetho). But the only other alternative, namely  $\delta\lambda\lambda'$   $\sigma\upsilon$  (perhaps *spatio longius*) would again make Anoubion say exactly the opposite of the Latin.

$\chi\eta\rho\alpha\nu$ : Unless it is accidental (or merely dirt), there seems to be a sloping diagonal line, in brown ink over the alpha, by a second hand. A grave accent, i.e.  $\chi\eta\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ? If so, it is the only one in the text, but perhaps not placed in error: a 'warning accent', that is, warning against placement of an acute on the syllable so accented (here the ultima), apparently deemed especially advisable in a class of words which, like this adjective, are normally oxytone. See J. Moore-Blunt, 'Problems of Accentuation in Greek Papyri', *QUCC* 29 (1978) 137–63 at 146, whose examples are all ii or iii AD; C. M. Mazzucchi, 'Sul sistema di accentazione dei testi greci in età romana e bizantina', *Aegyptus* 59 (1979) 145–67 with further literature.

$\nu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\upsilon$ : Though no virgin, a young widow would have experience and money (cf. 12), and still have years left on her, perhaps regarded, like Petronius' Widow of Ephesus (*Satyricon* 111–12), as sexually insatiate as well. We seem to get a reflection of the real world via the world of novelistic storytelling. That a widow might be past childbearing is a concern expressed at Dorotheus 2.4.15 (p. 46, 202 Pingree).

12 At line-end we are told what these planets/positions give in addition to basic  $\beta\iota\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$ . Manetho frequently forecasts both  $\beta\iota\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\beta\iota\omicron\tau\eta$ , a positive i.e. desirable prediction. Here the additional element need not have been positive (judged from Manetho's formulations); we could have had e.g.  $\epsilon\upsilon\nu ... \beta\iota\omicron\tau\omega ... \epsilon\delta\omega\kappa\epsilon$   $\kappa\alpha\kappa\acute{\omicron}\nu$ .

$\nu\tilde{\eta}$   $\Delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$  confirms III 464.14  $\nu\tilde{\eta}$   $\Delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$ , and P. Schubart 15.40  $\mu\acute{\alpha}$   $\theta\epsilon\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon$ , both doubted by Weinstock, *CdP* 27 (1952) 214 ('hardly possible in this kind of poetry'). But as he notes correctly there, the asseveration is omitted in the Latin, as here. Such asseverations are probably a feature of the didactic poet as inspired imparter of divine knowledge. They are distinctly a feature of the style of A.'s *Lehrgedicht*, as distinct from the prose handbooks or Dorotheus and Manetho who never use them. The occurrence of the expression in 4503 lends support to the Anoubion provenance of III 464 as well as that of P. Schubart 15.

$\delta\lambda[\sigma\chi\omicron]\nu$ : after  $\alpha$ , unlikely that the following letter was  $\nu$  (thus not  $\epsilon\delta\omega\kappa\alpha\nu$ ) or  $\kappa$  (thus not  $\epsilon\kappa[\alpha\kappa\acute{\omicron}] \nu$ ).

13 Note that  $\mu\epsilon\theta\omicron\delta\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota$  is written slightly below the line of writing, suggesting that the suprascript addition that precedes is calculated in advance to shorten the extension of the line to the right, thus in effect to justify or preserve the right margin. Cf. above line 9 end, front fr. 2.3, 9, 11. This in itself does not tell that another column followed, since we cannot be certain that sufficient papyrus followed, and it might well suggest that it did not (see introd.).

14  $\alpha\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$ :  $\delta\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$   $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho'$  cf. (Manetho 3.390  $\delta\epsilon\epsilon\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$   $\mu\alpha\lambda\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\iota\omicron$ ) is ruled out by the shape of the trace before the break, which arcs up high, then tucks in like the tongue of  $\epsilon$ . As  $\delta\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$  yields nothing,  $\delta\pi\epsilon\epsilon$  (the  $\pi$  ligatured into  $\epsilon$ ?) should be tried. After the break,  $\epsilon\iota$   $\theta\theta\acute{\omicron}$ ?

D. OBBINK

#### 4504. ANOUBION, ELEGIACS

66 6B.4/P(1–2)(a)

17.4 × 14.3 cm

Third or fourth century  
Plate XIII

A fair portion of one column of writing from a book-roll, with upper margin and vestiges of the preceding and following column, the latter marked half way down in the margin by an asteriskos, containing elegiac couplets with astrological predictions similar in style and content to those in 4503 and 4505–4507, and P. Schubart 15. These are paralleled in language and order by Firmicus 6.29–31, which points to Anoubion as author.

Of col. i only a few line-ends survive. The first half of col. ii is seriously perforated, but restoration secured in most places by the parallel Latin text. Of col. iii we have only the few letters beginning some ten lines, and a marginal asteriskos. The text is

written along the fibres. The back is blank. The hand is a small, slightly flattened, rounded formal mixed (akin to but not precisely severe) style hand, lightly decorated, markedly bilinear, slowly written, to be compared with *P. Chester Beatty*, early iv AD, no. 2b in Cavallo-Maehler *GBEP* (London 1987) and *P. Berol.* 9766, iii AD, no. 33 in Seider, *Paläographie* II.2, but approaching the small formal Biblical maiuscula (cf. B.M. Pap. 743 (A. R.) of iv or v AD (assigned), no. 29 in Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>) in being more rounded and e.g. by the addition of finials on verticals. When verticals and obliques meet at an apex they combine imperfectly in a flat top to produce the impression of a serif (horizontal or sometimes slightly tilting down at left), e.g. on tops of α, δ, μ, and ν (also serifs on tops of vertical and upper arm of κ, left vertical of η, left-end of top stroke of τ). The hand is upright, with a slight inclination to the right, reflecting influence or later development of the severe style with hybrid characteristics. Shading is contrastive, but the effect minimised by the small size of the letters. Narrow tall letters (ι, ρ with its tiny bowl) contrast with wide ones (η, μ), and both with small narrow letters (ο, ω), while φ and υ are both wide and tall. μ is written in three strokes, with a low flat curving belly, sloping low into the right upright, so as to resemble the shape of ν. Alpha is angular; both ο and ω small, tight, and floating between top and bottom lines (ε, ε, θ somewhat larger, but still diminutive in proportion to the other letters). Diamond-shaped φ (10, 12); ζ and ξ (16) written extremely wide. Strict bilinearity violated by ι, ρ, φ, but most ostentatiously by υ, which also occupies additional width by virtue of hooks off the tops of both arms, especially the left. ζ, κ, μ, ν, and ξ are written contrastively wider than other letters.

Elision is effected and in at least one case (ii 14) marked by apostrophe, though in at least two other cases (ii 6, 9) it is not so marked. There is orthographic division of double consonants (ττ) by apostrophe at ii 4. Iota adscript is not as a rule written, though it is written at 12 (τούτωι), 13 (Κρονικῶι), and 23 (δντικῶι); cf. 11 (ζωιδ[ι]ω, where the iota in ζωι can be understood vocally as ζωιδ[ι]ω as first written, though it is not so marked and with the suprascript correction metre will require taking ζωι as monosyllabic). Consonants are not assimilated internally (9 *ενπαρ[ε]η*). There are itacistic spellings: 14 *Πυρόι*, though in 9 the scribe wrote *Πυρόεις*; 19 *γέινοντα*. There are at least two notable metrical deficiencies: a defective pentameter (18) with a missing syllable, but otherwise sound and potentially remediable; after 15 one hexameter (at least) has dropped, the content of which can be supplied from the Latin.

Top margin is wide (6.4 cm) and intercolumn is ample (min. 2.9 cm). The evenly cut edge along the right half of the top is presumably the original top edge of the roll. This was a nicely produced book-roll, with corrections and reading marks, a format of production that would hardly suggest a private copy or subliterate content. There is no punctuation, but the text exhibits interlinear corrections and variants by the same hand which offer in both cases better readings than the text as first written. There are no obvious spaces between words. There is no punctuation (or accents, or other reading marks), but the same hand has provided paragraphoi which precisely articulate sections of the text, divisions which are reflected in the text of the Latin descendant. The same

hand or pen produced the asteriskos in the intercolumn before col. 3. All this suggests a professionally produced and edited book containing a controlled and stabilised text of a known author.

Other than the author and handwriting, there are no indications of date. Parallels from handwriting suggest the later third century, but the first half of the fourth cannot be ruled out, of which the later form of hypsilon is in particular a harbinger. The original height of the column is unknown. If the book preserved in 4504 ended at the same point as Anoubion's third book preserved in 4505 (fr. 2.11: *Γ*), and both texts were roughly the same, then c. 20 predictions must be fitted in between the end of col. ii and the end of the book, based on the corresponding remaining predictions in Firmicus 6.30.3–26, at which point there is an obvious section break before 6.31.1. Allowing a minimum of 3 lines on average per prediction (and allowing for elaboration in the Latin proportionate to the passages where we have the Greek as a control), c. 60 lines will be missing after col. ii before the end of the book, of which we have c. 20 in col. iii (either preserved as beginnings or indicated by space), 15 in 4503 back and at least another 16 in 4505 before end of book (apparently no overlaps with col. iii), leaving at least 9 to be apportioned between cols. ii and iii or to have followed in a further column now lost.

Consequently there is no certain way of estimating the length of the roll. On this reckoning and counting backwards, twenty-two predictions preceding col. ii would bring us to a point at which there is a major section break with exhortation at Firmicus 6.28.1, discussed above as a possible book-beginning and location for the introductory matter in 4503 (see on back fr. 2.3). Allowing again at least 3 lines on the average per prediction, we might be within c. 65 lines of the beginning of the catalogue of predictions, after a poem of, say 25 lines, i.e. c. 80–90 lines from the beginning of the book. This would give a total of c. 180 lines for book 3, which would occupy six columns if the columns contained 30 lines each (a common enough format, but no particular reason to prefer it). Even these calculations can only be in the largest sense approximate, and of course the roll may have been much longer, containing for example books one and two of Anoubion as well as book 3, or some other more eclectic disposition of the elegiac horoscopes into a kind of anthology.

Metre: elegiac distichs; the hexameter not in ekthesis. As in the Berlin fragment (noted by Snell ap. P. Schubart 15), most of the pentameters where we can tell end in paroxytones (see 16 and possibly 3 for proparoxytones as permissible exceptions).

→

Col. i

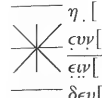
1	]ω
2	]
3	]τρον

## Col. ii

. . . [ ] ςθε [ ] υπολλακι και πατερος  
 δ [ ] ςπ [ ] ζον [ ] . . . μου πυροεντηκειμενονευρων<sup>οικ</sup>  
 οισπροσειπατοπ [ ] . . . τουτ βιηπα . εται  
 ητ' τονοσηδουλ [ ] . . . πο . ειρονοςηεπενιχρου  
 5 ηνδεκ . πριςθι . οισπ . νν [ ] . . . ιςιν . λεσει  
 ηνδ . ηςτιλβων . . . [ ] . . . του . ετοποιο  
 κειμε [ ] . . . φς [ ] . . . φη [ ] . . . [ ] . . . [ ] ιατ' ρ' εκεωσ  
 αλλακρises [ ] . . . αγειμεγα [ ] ασφωναστεδικαστε  
 χειρονδημερμειςνπαρ [ ] ηπυροει  
 10 . . . κρ [ ] . . . . ειη . . . ιφωσφ . ροσεινιζωω  
 τωδ . . . [ ] . . . τυχηζωιδ [ ] . . . οκρονος  
καιπρω [ ] . . . ουτωισυναφηνητευχηκυθερεια  
 καικρονικωιζ [ ] . . . ωζευστυχηητεκνυρις  
 καιπυροισλοοσκυπριμηνηντ' εσαθρηση  
 15α καιμουν [ ] ςφαινωντηνκεροεσσανιδη  
 15b < . . . . . >  
 16 ηογεμητρνημειξεταιαινοτατος  
 ηνδεγυνηκατατουτοτυχητοςχημαγενεσθαι  
 . . . . ροσανδρ . λεξεταιηπατερος  
 20 γεινονταιςτεிரαιτεκαιασπερμοιπαλιανδρες  
 μοιρανοτανμηνητηνδετυχηκατεχειν  
 ενθειςημερινημεγασηλιοςηλθεροδευων  
 ειδ [ ] . . . δφ [ ] . . . χα . . . φ [ ] . . . . ρωινποχθον [ ] . . .  
 ηδυτικωιστειχωικρονοςκυθερειαταποικο  
 [ ] . . . . ερου [ ] . . . ευσχηπρο [ ] . . . . ερονκυ [ ] ερη [ ]

## Col. iii

1 ηπ [ ]  
 ςυ [ ]  
 [ ]  
 [ ]

5 [ ]  
 [ ]  
 ε [ ]  
 η . [ ]  
 10   
 15 [ ]  
 [ ]  
 [ ]  
 [ ]  
 [ ]  
 20 κα [ ]  
 καιφ [ ]

## Col. ii

1 . . . [ ] , at beginning a vertical with connecting cross-bar at top, π possible, then vaguely a triangular letter, most likely α, but δ, λ possible, before an upright with something connecting at left, possibly π 2 δ , letter after initial δ is only flecks ] μου, before μου, two obliques meeting at an apex: α, λ possible, but δ excluded 3 τ οπ , trace after π of upper left quadrant of round letter: ε, ο τ ουτ , after τ ουτ only a trace at mid-height in the right side of letter space, which is narrow, e.g. α, but too narrow for ω Possible low trace before ε ται 4 δ ουλ , after delta, top of small round letter, arms of υ, legs and part of apex of λ 5 θι , after θι lower left corner of α at baseline ] ιςιν, before ιςιν lower arm of χ or κ coming in at lower left; after ιςιν long horizontal, π or τ followed by high ink at top in middle of the letter space, possibly from a round letter ςει, before ει possibly c with bottom half filled with ink or dirt, but θ not excluded 6 δ , round letter follows δ, i.e. ε or ω after βων complete disruption of fibres, traces mere specks no longer in original orientation . . . τ ου, before τ ου three uprights; after τ ου, apex of α, λ, δ 7 after κειμε an upright, close in to epsilon; then space for two letters before a stumpy upright connected at bottom to trace at left and tiny arc out and upwards at right, ω suggested, then a small, tight round letter, c closest, ο not excluded after φη the fibre structure has disintegrated, with only an indistinct trace here and there; there is possibly a side of the triangular-shaped φ, lying on its side, out of place before ἀτρεκέως, an upright with an oblique connecting at top, possibly the scrib on top of ι 8 κρises [ ] , after κρ an upright, then horizontal ink at baseline, compatible with c, not extending as far as would the bottom of δ; after that fibres disintegrate and there are odd traces of perhaps two letters out of place, nothing in particular suggested 9 ρονδης, after ρονδ an upright compatible with π or η; the following υ and the rest of the line arc out of alignment with what precedes 10 κρ [ ] , at beginning of line, fct of uprights of two letters; then top of scuffed upright with foot and lower leg of κ splayed below, followed by tall oblique stroke compatible with ρ but missing the bowl ειη . . . , after ειη, tip of an upright; next letter shows the end of a leg arcing out at lower right: λ, α . Trace before ρ is just a speck on a dangling fibre; ρ is a long oblique minus its bowl 11 τωδ . . . [ ] , beginning shows a faint τ, small ω hovering between the lines, and δ; then an oblique slanting



## Col. ii

'... at the hands of her uncle and her father. If you find Mars the ruler of the marriage sign positioned where I said before, this (is obtained?) by force at the hands of a low-life or a vile slave or a pauper. But if Venus (viz. is the ruler of the marriage sign) she will lose it (sc. *flos virginitalis*) during Bacchic routs and night celebrations. If Mercury is positioned in that place, (it happens?) as I said, unfavourably. But he (i.e. Mercury?) or it, i.e. this configuration?) incites trials and great tumult and lawsuits. It is worse if Mars is found together with Mercury.'

'If Jupiter is present (i.e. in the marriage sign?), and Venus is too, in the same sign, and Saturn is (coming?) very close to this sign (sc. Venus), and Venus effects a conjunction with him (sc. Saturn) first; and (if, when the husband is born?) Jupiter is in the sign of Saturn, and Venus is too, and deadly Mars is in aspect to both Venus and the Moon, and Saturn off by himself is in aspect to the Moon (one line missing, ending: 'either with his own mother') or with his step-mother he will have intercourse most horribly. But if it is a woman who is born with this birth-chart, she will (be called the wife of? go to bed with?) either her step-father or father. Women are born who are barren, and again men who are without issue, if the Moon embraces the following configuration: whence the great Sun comes (or: came?) travelling the equinox ... under the earth, or should Saturn and Venus go forth as settlers (i.e. dwell together) in a setting sign (or: in *NV* as it is setting) ...'

## Col. i

3 ]τρον. Most likely [κέν]τρον, rather than [μέ]τρον or the like: Manetho (who does not have *ἄτρον*) 3.469 μέτρα μακρῆς χθόνης ἐξέδωσαν; 4.626 ἐκμέτροι αἰῶσι; 5.361 εἰς ἑτέραν βίβλον τῶδε μέτρον πρὸς ἑπὶ; 6.266 βυθμοὶ καὶ μέτρων ποιήματιν εὐτοχοῦν ἄνδρα; in the context [ε]τρον is not to be ruled out: Manetho 1.123 Θυτήριον ἄτρον (emended by Kocichly to ἄτρον); the word once at line-end in Manetho 6.7 ἄτρον ὀδρανίων χοροῦ ἄτρον. This line will have been a hexameter in any case on account of its length; so also i above, leaving 2 (nothing visible) a pentameter.

## Col. ii

1-9 deal with defloration of virgins according to the marriage (not birth) sign: this is specifically stated by Firmicus at 6.29.23 *si Saturnus nuptialis signi dominus fuerit inuentus*. The Greek correspondingly gives δεσπ[ε]ξ[ου]τα γ[α]μίμου here (ii 2). That the *nuptialis signum* is the concern of section 24 (~line 5) as well is also stated by Firmicus. But in the next section he has apparently reverted to focusing on the genethliacal sign: 6.30.1 *si uero mulieris fuerit ista genitura* (~ii 17 ἢν δὲ γονή κατά τοῦτο τύχη τῷ σχήμα γενέσθαι), as he did in the predictions that precede 6.30.23. The genethliacal predictions leave off exactly where **4504** begins. Thus lines 10-20 begin a new section (represented by a chapter division at Firmicus 6.30 and accompanied by a paragraphos in the papyrus). Here we get a more general prediction illustrating the ill-effects of Venus under the sign of birth, especially its effects for the marriage. This theme (and its corresponding section in Firmicus) is continued in **4503** (back) and **4505**. In addition to the parallel text in Firmicus (6.29.17-23 (end) and 6.30.1-26, the whole of chap. 30), see also the treatments of this subject by Manetho 6.165 ff. and Ptol., *Tetr.* 4.5.

i At beginning, we need -UU- before θε[ε]αυ. Shape before θ approximates c. We are missing a reference to the step-father (= a *uñtrio* in Firmicus): the letter at beginning of line suggests π. But the space seems insufficient for πατριουδ, and a connective will be needed before θε[ε]αυ.

θε[ε]αυ: the ε is a mere vestige; but υ shows its characteristic splayed arms: o will be floating between the lines just before, but generously spaced, like the omicron-hypsilon in 17 τοῦτο.

What the paragraphos after line 1 signals is unclear. It cannot mark beginning of the section giving predictions from the marriage sign, since line 1 gives the apodosis of what in the Latin is the first of a brief series of predictions given by the ruling sign at marriage rather than, as elsewhere, at birth. Elsewhere in **4504** (after 9, 18) the paragraphos does not mark mere punctuation, but rather significant section beginnings. 2 δεσπ[ε]ξ[ου]τα γ[α]μίμου: as with 10 (which similarly begins after a paragraphos), this line as reconstructed is left odd without a connective particle (cf. 5, 6). But there seems to be no way to accommodate one; the zeta seems all but certain, and in any case δεσπ[ε]ξ[ου]τα, e.g., will not scan.

At the end, varia lectio εἶροις for εἶρων (sic written scr.), apparently the preferable reading (but -ων not cancelled; therefore a variant?). With the aorist participle εἶρων we must presume (and understand) a preceding second-person verb, ἐκείριστο vel. sim.: e.g. 'but if it is Mars (whom you observe), finding him in a

position ruling the marriage sign ...'. εἶροις also coheres well with the other second person addresses in the new fragments of Anoubion: see **4503** front fr. 2.6, back fr. 2.3, 5, **4505** fr. 2.5, and cf. Anoubion ap. Hephaestion 2.2. (p. 90 Pingree) v. 1 μάθου. The second person addresses presume or affect a practical context for a potential practitioner:

ἦν: = εἶν as often in Dorotheus and Manetho, more commonly with the subjunctive than with the optative (a late feature: Radermacher *NTGrammatik* p. 200), as here, but with the optative it is frequent enough in the Greek astrological poets (twenty times in Manetho).

2-3 κείμενον εἶροις οἱ πρόεστα τόποι[ε]: The location previously stated was presumably 'on the descendant or the MC' (as given by Firmicus at the beginning of 6.23). This longer form of the anterior reference (see also 6-7) is eschewed by Manetho. Thus προεστίν (3) and πρόσθημι (7n.) do not occur in Manetho's poem, but are nonetheless found in the prose-handbooks: Hephaestion p. 83.8 Pingree δε προεστίν. The form προεστία is in any case suitably Homeric: cf. Emped. 31 B 17, 15 D.-K. ὡς γὰρ καὶ πρὶν ἔεπα.

3 τούτο: i.e. her virginity? or loss of it, corruption, or perhaps seduction ('stuprum' in Firmicus)? I have no idea what Greek word is implied as antecedent, nor if it was actually expressed in what came before line 1.

βίη: Manetho 5.249 ἐξαιπύης ἀποδέσσει βίη; cf. 3.178, 193. Note that whereas Firmicus (6.29.23) agrees that Mars foretells rape (as opposed to seduction, *stuprum*), he does not specify by whom. Instead, he seems to have moved Anoubion's δόδος (together with a *senex*, not in the Greek) into the preceding prediction for who will seduce the girl if Saturn is the ruler of the marriage sign. Is this a case of carelessness in the Latin translation, or a refinement of the prediction by later astrologers? Note that Firmicus' text could be brought into general agreement with the Greek by ending the sentence at *praeparatur*, thus beginning a new sentence with *aut a senex aut a seruo*, and deleting *uero* after *si* in what immediately follows, so that *si nuptialis signi dominus Mars fuerit* follows on without a break.

At line-end there are few possibilities to accommodate π[α] ε[τα]ι; the syllable in question must be short. We might have expected the future (judged from 5, 16, 18 and P. Schubart 15.36; but here 8, 9 give predictions in the present, as do **4503** back fr. 2.9, 12 and P. Schubart 15.33). πάσεται < πάσμαι ('get', 'acquire', with the woman as subject, τούτο as direct object generalized to mean e.g. marriage, mentioned in 2 [γ]άμου) is ruled out if the first syllable is long (so LSJ), but that depends on two emended passages (A. *Eum.* 177; Call. *H.* 6.127). If it were short at least for later authors, Lucian *Podagra* 264 would be a close parallel, but there too the reading is an emendation (from various forms of παθ-). Other possibilities require internal correction, which is rare (West, *Greek Metre* p. 11 f.); παύεται (if τούτο generalizes), 'her virginity is brought to an end' (Eurip. *Med.* 717 πᾶσις ε' ὄντ' ἀπαυδα might be relevant), or παύεται might be considered, the latter used e.g. of sexual intercourse at Ar. *Pax* 874. But this word is rather exclusively poetic, and the passive rare, being largely supplied from πλήσσει. In any case the space seems too wide for ε.

4 ἦτρονος: apparently of a (social) inferior (rather than someone younger in age): Manetho 4.385 ἦτρονος ἐκ πατέρων μητρὸς θαλέθουσι λοχέαισι; 4.163 λέκτρα γυναικῶν ἦτρονα πολλῶ.

ἦ δουλ[ου] = aut a seruo (in the preceding prediction) in Firmicus (6.29.23). But aut a seruo there has no equivalent here.

πενυχροῦ: **4503** back fr. 2.9; Hephaestion p. 101.4 Pingree; Paulus Alex. 58, 18; 122, 16; Manetho 1.416, 428.

5 'But if Venus (viz. is the ruler of the marriage sign)'. The fact that the verb of the protasis is here understood, makes this prediction a species of the foregoing one, and accounts for the fact that a new prediction here begins with the pentameter.

ἦν δὲ Κύρις: Note that while Firmicus agrees about the planet and position, he predicts seduction, *stuprum*, rather than rape (βίη = *uolentia flos* ... *eripitur*, as predicted for Mars in 3), whereas Anoubion's δόδεσι would seem to allow a range of possibilities.

θιάσαι: cf. Manetho 4.301, 493; Manil. 5.144 ff. Fear of women's mysteries was widespread and stereotypically dramatic: Cumont, *L'Égypte* 95 with n. 1. Since Anoubion (Firmicus' source here) dates from at least the second century, the critical view of the mysteries adopted here provides no grounds (as is sometimes alleged) for connecting the Firmicus Maternus of the *Mathesis* with the one who wrote *De errore profanarum religionum*, in part a Christian attack on the pagan mysteries.

παυγ[υ]χίαι: cf. Manetho 1.205 πανυγιδων τελετων θ' ἡγήτορας; Athen. 668C; Plut. *Mor.* 77E. δόδεσαι as at Od. 13.299, Hes. *Op.* 180, Manetho 1.345; epic also admitted the form with two sigmas. Here the top of sigma taken so far forward that it has closed the circle, filling the bottom with ink, and giving the impression that we have -θεε.

6 Missing in the middle of the line after *Cráβwv* is a long syllable (or two shorts), then a long syllable before *ἐπι*, with the caesura intervening: i.e. something like *ἄρχ[ων]*; but the traces (on broken fibres) are too exiguous to confirm.

7 *κέ[με]ν[ος]*: sc. *Cráβwv* in 6, where *ἐπι* will require the nominative here. In the Latin something has gone missing between *fuert* and *ante collocatus* (a lacuna indicated here by Kroll and several mss.), probably *sicut diximus*, as in the previous sentence (6.29.23). Thus we need something like *ὡς[περ ἐ]φή[ν]* (suggested by Professor Parsons) or *ὡς [προε]φή[ν]* (cf. Doroth. fr. V 27.13 p. 402 Pingree *ole πρόφην*). But space recommends only three (narrow) letters in the lacuna before *φή*. W. Clarysse ingeniously suggests *ὡς [νόμ]φή*, as the expressed subject of a passive verb of seduction or persuasion later in the line, corresponding to Firmicus' *virginitatem suam desiderio adducunt*. This does not account for what has dropped from the Latin, but then we cannot be certain that everything in the Latin was originally in A.

After *φή* there is a loose piece with the left side of the (distinctively triangular) bowl of phi lying at an angle. I do not know its original position, but if it belongs here (and this is uncertain), then a verb beginning with phi is demanded. Before *ἀτ'ρ'έκωσ* there is a trace of an upright with something from the left connecting at top (too oblique for *π* or *τ*), probably a seriated iota (like the one in *καί* in 15a). But sense uncertain: (i) we need something like: 'she is seduced by someone's promises' (or by someone speaking *ἀτρεκέωσ*? or not *ἀτρεκέωσ*? Firmicus is more expansive here, but *caritas persuasionibus* is likely to be the relevant phrase). Thus *[φθείρ]ε[ρ][α]* *ἀτρεκέωσ*, 'is certainly corrupted', may be surmised, which will have given Firmicus just enough to embellish [*πρεθ*]ε[ρ][α] will be too short). (ii) *ἀτρεκέωσ*, however, has nothing to do with seduction or persuasion, but with truthfulness: it is an Ionic poetic equivalent of Attic prose *ἀκριβέσ*, also in scientific prose, Diog. Apol. 64 B 5.3 D.-K. *ὁ μόντος ἀτρεκέωσ γε ὁμοιον*; frequently in *Corpus Hippocraticum*. So it is tempting to connect the word here to Anoubion's claims to veracity elsewhere in his addresses to the would-be astrologer: 4503 back fr. 2.6 *διακρέωνος κείων ἐτηρημίης*. In that light we might entertain here [*φάν*]ε[ρ][α] *ἀτρεκέωσ*, i.e. a description of the precision and inevitability of the prediction (cf. Manetho 2.229 *ἀκτέρες ἐρόδων*: *τὰ γὰρ ἀτρεκέων μάλα φαίνεις*; Vett. Val. 9.15 p. 343.25 Pingree *ὅθεν καὶ τὴν ἀτρεκὴ τῆς Σελήνης μοῖραν ἐμφανή*); or better for space: [*πράττ*]ε[ρ][α] (*vel sim.*) *ἀτρεκέωσ*, i.e. 'things happen exactly as I said truthfully before, except that it brings with it trials ...'. In this case the outcome is predicted in the *ἀλλά* clause that follows (same result with added publicity). In favour of (ii) is the fact that the only occurrences of *ἀτρεκέωσ* in Manetho both come as part of authorial claims for truthfulness: 2.4 *ἐν προτέρας κελίδεσσιν μάλ' ἀτρεκέωσ κατέλεξαι*; 5.12 *ταῦδε πάντα μάλ' ἀτρεκέωσ καταλέξω* (but both of these in proemia). Against (i) is the problematic sense of the Latin: there is no element there corresponding to *ἀτρεκέωσ*.

8 *ἀλλά*: replicated by *sed* in Firmicus (6.29.24), who adds *ex occasione* 'sometimes', thereby making clear that this is to be understood as a possible (even more) negative outcome in addition, i.e. under this sign one can expect bad consequences in general. But it seems to have nothing to do per se with predictions about marriage. Has it slipped into the particular concerns of this section (and thence into Firmicus' account) from some other source or scheme of organisation?

*κρίσει* [*επ*]άγει: cf. Manetho 1.315 *κρίσεισ καὶ νεκείσ' ἔχοντασ*; 2.56 *κυνδόνουσ' ἐπάγει*. The same prediction appears at Manetho 3.186 with very similar language: *κρίσεισ τε δίκαισ τ' ἀγορησ πέλονται*.

9 'But things are worse if Mars is found together with Mercury': a general prediction (see on 8), to cover a variation in position over that given in 6–7. *χέτρον* = Firmicus' *maiora*. There is a close parallel in 4505 fr. 1.6: [*κρεί*]ττον δ' ἢν ἐκείθι τῆν ..., 'but it is stronger if (Venus or Jupiter) is in aspect to her (the Moon)', where Firmicus relates this directly to the preceding prediction as an additional specification of the position under consideration (6.30.20 *sed haec fortius conualescent si* ..., 'these predictions increase in probability, if ...'). For the significance of the paragraphs after this line see below on 12.

*συμπ[ρ]ε[σ]*: regularly of planets occupying the same position: Vett. Val. 2.4 p. 59.12 Pingree; cf. Manetho 4.319 *Ἄρης δ' αἰθαλόεισ παρέθ' ἐν τοίσι διομοιοί*.

11 Firmicus (6.30.1) has in *vicino sit signo*. The standard expression of this disposition in Manetho (e.g. 3.330) is *δυσθεωσ ἰών* + dative (e.g. *ζώφω*); cf. 3.48 *ἀντιστρέφθεν ἐόντοσ*. But it is difficult to see how anything like this could have occupied the first two feet here. We might attempt to read *τῶ δ' ἄρχ' [ἀρ]τ*. For *ἀρχ*, Manetho 1.121, 3.50 (although in both cases it controls the genitive).

*ζωιδ[ε]ω* ὁ Κρόνοσ: the suprascript *ω* after *ζωιδ[ε]* *ω* to be added (not substituted) before ὁ Κρόνοσ, with the final syllable of *ζωιδ[ε]ω* shortening in corruption before *ὄν*, taken as complementary particle with *τῆς*, again, apparently correctly (cf. var. lect. in 2). We could read *ζωιδίω* ὁ Κρόνοσ without the suprascript addition, but with it the hiatus is neatly avoided.

ὁ Κρόνοσ: the article usually omitted with the planet names and their epithets, but appears at times nevertheless, as also in Manetho: see 13 ἢ τε Κύπριε, 15a τῆν Κερδέεσσιν; 4503 back fr. 2.8 τοῦ Πυρόδοντοσ, 4505 fr. 1.6 as restored τῆν Κυ[θέρ]ρη.

12 'and Venus effects a conjunction with him (sc. Saturn) first'. But in the Latin Saturn is the subject of the construction. *πρότ[ω]* *τόστωσ* seems closer to Firmicus' *ipse primus* (cf. Manetho 3.36 *ἐν πρότεροσ δ' ἄρης ζώω φαίνων προθέρειν*; 5.108 ἢ *εὐναφῆν πρώτοισ λάβη πολιοῖο Κρόνοισ*). But for space and (exiguous) traces we could have *πρότῃ* *τόστωσ*, i.e. *πρότῃ* agreeing with *Κυθέρεια*.

After 12 the placement of the paragraphos is puzzling (cf. on 1), since it falls in the middle of a prediction. As it stands, the positions described in 10–15 are too complex and contradictory taken together to delineate either the marriage sign or the birth sign of a single individual. Perhaps it combines both, with the paragraphs marking off the configuration which is that of the marriage sign (10–12) from that of the (husband's) birth sign (12–15). (The paragraphs after 9 would in this case set off a prediction which combines both.) It is true that none of the configurations described are specifically said to be those of the husband; but something to this effect may have been said in the lost 15b (where Firmicus gives the missing *Luna et horoscopo*, together with the less crucial *Sol sit in MC*), and in any case 16 makes it clear that the prediction is for a male, while 17 gives the complementary genethliacal details for the female counterpart. If this is correct (and if it is not, the position described in 13, missing in the prediction as related by Firmicus 6.30.1, both repeats 10 and conflicts with the position given in 11), the papyrus text has been very well marked indeed, despite the possible loss of a crucial bit of information in 15b.

14 ἄλοσ: 'deadly', as often of Mars: Hephaestion p. 260.17, 285.25 Pingree; cf. Manetho 3.464.

15a *μόνοισ* is by far the more common form: Doroth. fr. V 27.13 p. 402 Pingree (of Selenc); Manetho 1.436, 3.551, 4.138, 5.93, 296. But *μονώξ* appears in this same prediction at Manetho 3.157; so also Doroth. fr. V 25.59 p. 399 Pingree (of Venus).

*Φαίνων* = Saturn: see Arist. *De mundo* 2.9; Cic. *ND* 2.20 for the etymology as 'shiner'.

15b At least one hexameter has dropped at this point (as similarly after P. Schubart 15.35, and the pentameters in 4503 front), where Firmicus (6.30.1) supplies an additional position: *et Sol sit in MC*, *Luna et horoscopo in Cancro constitutus*, i.e. if the Sun is in mid-heaven, and the Moon and the ascendant are both in Cancer. The prediction in 16 seems rather brief in comparison with Firmicus' (who explains that one will be in this way removed from celestial protection), and in particular begins with a disjunctive particle, thus omitting the rather crucial reference to intercourse with one's mother. We need at least one line supplying the Greek for *Luna et horoscopo in Cancro constitutus* (possibly also specifying that the prediction is for a male), together with a reference to the mother: e.g. ἢ τότε μητρὶ *vel sim*. There seems to have been a chiasmic ordering in the Greek: 15b–16 *μητρὶ ... μητρυνῆ* apparently matched in 18 (if not hopelessly corrupt) by step-father ... father. Firmicus, on the other hand has *matrum aut noueras* balanced by *patri aut uirgino*.

16 *μητρυνῆ*: for other instances of *μητρογόμοσ* in astrological forecasts see Hephaestion 2.21.17 p. 175 Pingree, Ptol. Tetr. 188, 19 ff., and the passages cited by Cumont, *L'Égypte* 178 n. 3, 179 nn. 3–4. Firmicus at this point (6.30.1) explains that tradition records that Oedipus had precisely this birth-chart. Manetho gives Oedipus' horoscope at 6.160–9. Anoubion gives the same prediction but omits all mention of the mythological exemplum. Judged from 4505 he also omitted them elsewhere (though see below on col. iii g). *μείξερα*: cf. P. Schubart 15.36 *καὶ [θνυα]τρός κοίτη μείξερασ οὐχ ὀκίωσ*.

17–18 'But if it is a woman who is born with this birth-chart, she will (be called the wife of?) go to bed with?) either her step-father or father'.

17 The entire line replicated exactly in Firmicus (6.30.1 *si uero mulieris fuerit ista genitura*). In this way it is made clear that the previous prediction was for a male, though this is nowhere stated, and only revealed at the termination in 16 *αἰνόστατοσ*. Presumably Anoubion means this prediction to be combined with the marriage sign described at 10–12: if a woman with this birth sign marries under that marriage sign, the prediction in 18 will ensue. Note that here a relatively technical qualification (= 'in the case of a woman ...') occupies an entire formulaic hexameter, which as such could be potentially reused over and over in different predictions.

18 *ἀνδρό(ς)*: There is not room for the sigma; perhaps it was omitted along with the following word, which has dropped. If we read *ἀνδρό(ς)*, we will still be short a half foot before the caesura, which has apparently dropped. The Homeric possessive pronoun *ἑς* (after *ἀνδρό(ς)*), *οἱ*/with 'her own mother's husband', i.e. her step-father) or *τοῖ* or something similar must be supplied. For the possessive pronoun *ἑς* see Manetho 3.359, 5.105, 111. The pronoun is missing in Firmicus for the woman's horoscope, though it is

given for the man (6.30.1 *matrum suarum ... noueritas suas*), where it is unstated in Anoubion (unless it came in the lost 15b).

*λέξεται*: What does it mean? (i) 'she will be called her own mother's husband's', i.e. be 'said to belong to' i.e. 'be the wife of' her stepfather: future of *λέγω* with passive sense as at Eur. *Alc.* 322, LSJ sv. III citing Soph. *OC* 1186, Eurip. *Hec.* 906, *IT* 1047 *λέξεται ... ἔχων* 'shall be spoken of as having'; emended from *οὐδὲν λέξεται* at Aesch. *Ag.* 170. At Soph. *TrGF* III fr. 86 Radt *πατρός κεκλήσθαι* means 'to be one's father's own son' (LSJ sv. *πατήρ*), or (ii) future of *λέχομαι*: 'she will lie down (with)' her stepfather, etc. This usually means 'in sleep' (compl. dat.), but cf. *Od.* 17.102 *λέξομαι εἰς ἐνρήν*; 4.305 *πάρ δ' Ἑλένη ... ἐλέσαστο*. The awkwardness of the double genitive must be endured in either case (with or without the possessive pronoun), if the text there is sound. If the expression *μητέρος ἀνηρ* is deemed awkward even for this poet, then some deeper corruption might be envisaged, such as the omission of *κηδεστής*, *-ον* or *πατρικός* or the like. In *λέξεται* the lambda seems certainly read. Emendation to e.g. <ἔρον> *δέξεται* is tempting. Or <ἔροσφ> *λέξεται*?

19 Unusually here the prediction comes first followed by an introduction of the Moon as the determinate sign for the already stated outcome. The actual position of the moon for this result is postponed until 21 ff., where it is introduced by the pronoun *τήνδε* in 20. For this demonstrative pronoun pointing ahead see 4505 fr. 2.6. There, however, it introduces an extended outcome, whereas here it introduces an elaborate prediction and positioning of signs.

*εἴπειρα*: Cumont, *L'Égypte* 185 with n. 2 for parallels, apparently one of the miseries of everyday life. Similarly *ἄσπερμιοι* 'without issue': *Il.* 20.303, Hephaestion p. 8.15 Pingree; Manetho 1.185, 2.284, 3.267, 305.

20 *μόραν ... τήνδε*: i.e. as described in 21 ff. Firmicus' account (6.30.2–3) apparently expands these lines into two separate and different predictions, both with similar outcomes. Cf. on 4503 back fr. 2.9–12. Anoubion, however, gave a single prediction both for males (19 *ἄσπερμιοι ἄνδρες*) and females (19 *εἴπειρα*), whereas Firmicus gives only the chart for males.

21 *ἔνθεν*: initial at Manetho 4.331.

*ἰσημερίαν*: 'equinox'.

*μέγας Ἥλιος*: the Sun similarly denominated by the ornamental epithet *μέγας* in the series of six elegiac distichs quoted from Anoubion by Hephaestion 2.2 (p. 90 Pingree) at line 2:

*ὑρονόμον δὲ μάθος ὥρης ἄτερ ἄσπερμιον ἔλλοιον  
σκεπτόμενος Μῆνην καὶ μέγαν Ἥλιον.*

He is not so called by either Manetho or Hephaestion, but is by Dorotheus fr. V, 5 16–17 p. 386 Pingree. Note that Firmicus speaks not of the Sun at all in the corresponding passage at 6.30.2–3, but rather of the Moon, in relation to the equinox.

*ἦλθε*: the aorist, of course, need not be temporal (cf. 4503 back fr. 2.10). But if it is, the passage seems to be lapsing into a poetic narrative about the motion and relative positioning of the planets (or alluding to or quoting another version of this prediction?).

*ὀδεύων*: cf. Manetho 3.125, 6.76.

*ὑποχθόν[ι]α*: III 464 44 has the beginning of a hexameter *δεοσι ὑποχθονίω τε κα[ί]*. For the expression (i.e. the astral position *inimū medium caelum*, IMC) see Manetho 2.53, 126, 3.147, 156, 238.

23 Cf. Manetho 3.176 *δυνακὶ ἐνὶ κέντρῳ*.

Col. iii

1 e.g. *ἦν* [δὲ κτλ.

1–21 It is impossible to distinguish the hexameters from the pentameters, since 21 is certainly not the end of the book (the verses in 4503 back and 4505 must have followed).

9 Beneath the line is a paragraf, perhaps marking punctuation or delineating a section as in col. ii. An asterisk-shaped graphic, with a hook over left on the diagonal stroke at upper left (as though in shape of chi?), between two horizontal lines, is drawn level with lines 8–11. A coronis in this shape is found e.g. XXVI 2441 (see Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> no. 22) and in V 841 (Pindar's *Paeans*), together with a regular coronis to the right. But this cannot be the end of the book (see 20–1 and n. on 1–21). None of the line beginnings here are coincident with those of 4503 back nor the concluding lines (as restored) in 4505 (fr. 2.4–10). Although the composite nature of that text (excerpts compiled by subject headings?) makes it uncertain whether we should expect precisely the same text and book-division here, the Latin at least provides some control and helps to pin-point the book-end (see introd.).

For the asteriskos see Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> pp. 12–13 especially 13 n. 62; K. McNamee, *Sigla and Select*

*Marginalia* (1992) 11 with n. 19, and 25. At end of book it denotes closure (end of *Iliad*, beginning of comedy: P. Ant. I 15); elsewhere change: change of speaker (Barcelona *Alkestis*), metre, poem or sections within them (Hephaestion p. 74.8 Conbruch) (for variance of reading as a critical sign see McNamee, *Sigla* p. 9 n. 4). But none of these really applies here. Nor does Firmicus' Latin version give any clear indication of what might have been signalled, though he does elaborate the names of famous mythological and historical figures who, he claims, had the birth-charts described. But col. ii 16 (where see note), together with 4505, makes clear that these were lacking in Anoubion. Rather than signaling textual disruption, the sign here probably heralds the beginning of a new section or type of prediction (e.g. from bad to good outcomes, for which transition see Firmicus 6.30.19, immediately before 4505). A close parallel is found in the medical recipes P. Ant. III 160 (iv AD) where a dotted chi signals the start of a new recipe (McNamee, *Sigla* p. 39). The use of subject headings to divide predictions in 4505 may be compared (see on 4505 introd. and above on col. ii 16).

10 Perhaps *ἐν* for *ἐν*, as in ii 10.

21 *καὶ Φ[αέθων (=Sol), or καὶ Φ[αίωων (=Saturn)]?*

D. OBBINK

#### 4505. ANOUBION, ELEGIACS

36 4B.95/D(3–4)a

5.4 × 16.8 cm

Late second/early third century  
Plate XIV

A strip down the middle of a column (the last?) from a papyrus roll, broken horizontally across the middle into two pieces: fr. 1 preserving top margin and eight lines; fr. 2: 10 lines followed by book number (surrounded by decorative finials), title (two lines), and foot of column. Fibre continuities suggest that both are part of the same column, one above the other, but space in between is undetermined. As set out below, no gap is presumed between the two fragments; it is possible (but unlikely) that line 1 of fr. 2 is part of line 8 of fr. 1 (see on fr. 1.8). Continuity with the Latin version (fr. 2.9 *δητῆρα* = Firmicus Maternus 6.30.22 *orator*) suggests that not many lines have been lost. Elegiac distichs in whole or part. 4505, however, differs from 4503–4 (and P. Schubart 15) by the introduction of prose headings (at fr. 1.2 and 7) setting off groups of distichs (cf. III 464). In fr. 1 lines began 2–4 letters to the left of the preserved edge, and within a letter or two (due to column drift) of the left margin in fr. 2, thus showing that the hexameters began at the same point as the pentameters.

Text written across the fibres. On the other side (front), along the fibres, are two columns of a document concerning granaries (ii 9 *θησαυ[ρ-]*), consisting of ends of lines (col. i, some with numbers) and beginnings of lines (col. ii) separated by an intercolumn, in a large hand reminiscent of the chancery style in its elegance and vertical extension. Anoubion is written on the back, in a smallish rounded decorated informal hand of a fluid character, with some cursive tendencies (e.g. fr. 1.2 *καί*), but with affinities (like the documentary hand on the front) to the 'chancery' style. The text of Anoubion thus joins a small group of literary texts identified as written in styles related to or influenced by the 'chancery' script. See T. Renner in *Akten des 21. Int. Papyrologenkongresses* (Stuttgart and Leipzig 1997) ii 827–34, whose comparisons (p. 828) suggest a date late in the second or early third centuries; for dated parallels, esp. Schubart, *P. Gr. Berol.* no. 28



(194 AD) and 32b (210 AD), cf. no. 27. In **4505** there is slight vertical extension, so that 'square' letters (and some round ones, like  $\theta$ , but not  $\sigma$ ,  $\omega$ , or bowl of  $\phi$ ) are taller than they are wide (e.g.  $\epsilon$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\eta$ ). Note the typical chancery  $\kappa$  (fr. 2.8) with lower arm dipping down below the line before levelling out to horizontal, top arm added last, arcing slightly. The hand is generally upright, resisting a slight inclination to the right; written moderately fast, with many ligatures (cf.  $\mu\alpha\tau$  in fr. 2.13); top-stroke of  $\tau$  sloping down at right; u-shaped  $\beta$  in fr. 2.4. Decoration: tiny finials on the feet of uprights, left-facing hooks on the tops of  $\iota$ ,  $\phi$ , approaching 'blobs' in places ( $\iota$  in fr. 2.12, top of  $\phi$  in 2.4); delta (possibly Roman-sourced) with sagging base and right side closer to vertical than the left, which overlaps the apex with a hook to the left. Diminutive  $o$  and  $c$ , likewise bowl of  $\rho$  and  $\omega$  which floats between top and bottom line, in contrast to the larger bowls of  $\theta$  and  $\phi$  which fill the space between top and bottom lines;  $a$  also raised slightly in the line with a tail rising to near horizontal to connect with the following letter. There is a general bilinearity, broken by  $\iota$ ,  $\kappa$  (fr. 2.8),  $\rho$  and  $\phi$ .

The original tops and bottoms of both column and roll are preserved, with top and bottom margins of 2.9 cm and 2.8 cm respectively. The column will have contained at least 8 (fr. 1) + 10 (fr. 2), plus 4 (2 for book number, two for title), or at least 22 lines. Assuming no loss between fr. 1 and 2, this will have been the approximate height of the columns elsewhere in the roll, if the colophon with book number and title has been placed at the bottom of notional column space. The exact extent of the work cannot be determined; it is uncertain whether the text was precisely the same as in the other copies or not (see on **4504** introd. and col. iii 9). But the subscription in fr. 2 presumes at least one complete book, written in this case on the back of a recycled document.

A few lectional signs: internal (inorganic) trema at fr. 1.6 and fr. 2.5 ( $\epsilon\epsilon\iota\delta\eta$ ), but no accents, breathings or quantity marks. Sometimes word-spacing is interposed (e.g. fr. 1.1  $\kappa\alpha\sigma\iota\gamma\eta\tau\omega\nu \epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ), but not consistently and sometimes ineptly (fr. 1.2). Paragraphoi were written (as in **4503**, **4504**, and **4506** and **4507**) after fr. 1.1 and 6, separating individual predictions (as in III **464** and PSI III 157). A longer one extends under the first three preserved letters of fr. 2.10, marking the end of the book (was it combined with a coronis?).

Elision is effected but marked inconsistently: marked with apostrophe by the same scribe at the time of writing in fr. 2.3 and 6 after  $\theta$  (which presumes  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta$ , unless the  $\theta$  has been written in error as at **4503** front fr. 2.5), but tacit elision in fr. 2.4 and 5. There is orthographic division of double consonants ( $\tau\tau$ ) by apostrophe in fr. 1.6 (apparently added later by same scribe). Iota adscript never written, as far as we can tell. Only one scribe at work, who introduced no corrections.

Using Firmicus as a guide, **4505** can be situated in Anoubion's poem, c. 50 verses after **4504** (17 predictions after Firmicus at 6.30.20–3 @ 3 lines per prediction on average), and c. 40 verses after **4503** back (13 predictions after Firmicus 6.30.6). It is unclear whether we have a complete or abridged copy with section headings inter-

polated, or a selection of excerpts organised by topic. The book number (*I*) indicates that in this edition at any rate Anoubion's poem extended to at least three books.

The groups of distichs (apparently containing complete predictions) are prefaced by prose headings, describing the sort of person who could be expected to be born under the given signs and be subject to the predicted outcomes. Similar inset prose headings, describing a type of person and couched in the genitive (with and without  $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ ), likewise preface the astrological epigrams preserved in III **464**, where in each case they follow a paragraphos marking the conclusion of each of the predictions. These headings describing types of people may anticipate the examples of famous people (some of them from myth) given occasionally by Manetho and in particular by Firmicus for the predictions in this section. Yet the prose headings occur before the predictions, not after them as the exempla do in Manetho and Firmicus. It is at least clear that Anoubion's poem did not contain the exempla where we would have expected them from Firmicus or Manetho. Firmicus gives Oedipus at 6.30.1 = **4504** ii 16, Paris at 6.30.12, Demosthenes at 6.30.22 = **4505** fr. 2, and adds four additional horoscopes— not in **4505**—for Homer, Plato, Pindar and Archilochus, and Archimedes in a crescendo at 6.30.23–6 that closes section 6.30. Anoubion's third book ends at the point where Firmicus adduces Demosthenes as an example of a rhetor's horoscope.

It is worth asking what purpose a collection of predictions organised and headed by type of individual would serve. Did it allow one to confirm whether a person's (known) childlessness, wealth, etc. was predicted by their birth or marriage sign, or even to ascertain one's sign, for individuals who did not know when they themselves were born (and how many knew?) or were unable to compute the hour precisely? Or did it allow an astrologer to choose his predictions according to a desired outcome, and e.g. to tailor his predictions according to customer or for identical arrangement of birth signs? This is in fact suggested by Rhetorios at *CCAG* VIII 4 p. 208.4 ff., citing Anoubion as an authority, when he advises that the astrologer should pay special attention to the characteristics of his clients, their virtues and defects, so as to avoid predicting e.g. for someone who suffers from gout that he will be winner in a footrace, or for a blind man that he will become a painter. If this is correct, the prose headings might derive at some stage from the design of the author himself (were they originally verses here paraphrased as prose headings?).

Or are the prose headings simply an accoutrement of the literary collection, like the headings which preface the individual epigrams in **4502**? If so, they may suggest that **4505** is more a collection of epigrams rather than a continuous poem. And if so, were the verses (i) excerpted from a pre-existing poem in elegiac distichs? Or (ii) was Anoubion's poem later elaborated from individual epigrams like these, collected into a continuous poem? If (ii) we would expect them to be intelligible and complete in themselves. (i) might explain some of the incoherence, corruption, and lack of connection in **4505** as a typical result of abridgement (so also in III **464** and PSI III 157). The fact that Firmicus' section 6.30 continues for four more predictions (the obviously later



embellished exempla notwithstanding), might suggest that **4505** derives from a fuller original version which has been curtailed to produce something like an anthology of astrological epigrams. The presence of a formal proem setting out systematic principles of the science in **4503** suggests a planned organisation for the poem, perhaps even the versification of a prose treatment. But practice may have differed when it came to the collection of predictions: these may have multiplied in compilation through one edition of Anoubion to another, according to the predilections of the practitioner or the industry of the collector.

In the articulated text below, the prose headings are given in bold type to distinguish them from the distichs. In the papyrus they are written in the same hand, style, and spacing as the rest of the text except for the fact that they are inset from the beginnings of the poetic lines, perhaps centred in the column (as is the title in the colophon, fr. 2.13).

Fr. 1

↓

] **κασιγνήτων εισγαμονη** . [   
     **ευχαριτοσαν θρωπου και** . [   
     ] **ν εισετραγωνον επαν** . [   
     ] **η ενπρακτουςπροσφιλε** . [   
 5 ] **τουσαλοχοιςφιλοιςχαριε** [   
     ] **τ' τὸν δηνεσιδητηγκυ** [   
     **πεπαιδευμενουκαιφι** . [   
     ] **ν καιπ** [ . . . ] **εις κ** . [

Fr. 2

↓

    . . . . . [   
     ] . [ . . . . . ] . . . [   
     ] **ν** . [ . . . . . ] **αγων** [   
     ] **ονδημηνασχηματριγω** [   
     ] **ισδανατοι φορεην βιοτ** [   
 5 ] **δεκατονδεσιδηθηματ** [   
     ] **θ' ενι θεις εισητοναδε** . [   
     ] **ηθηχαριενταφιλουσηδιστ** [   
     ] **ντοις αρετης καισοφικςμ** [   
     ] **θωντερητηραταχυνπρ** . [

10 ] **νναιοντρηχυνδειωνα** . [   
     ∨   
     > Γ <   
     ∧   
     ] **περιτουδεσποτου**   
     ] **τουθεματος**

Fr. 1

1 . . . [ , high trace of upright with connecting oblique at top,  $\nu$ ,  $\gamma$  not excluded? beneath this line, very tip of paragraphos spaced evenly between the lines under first preserved trace 2 . . . [ , high top with trace of foot arcing back left at bottom,  $\mu$  possible 3 . . . [ , curving left side, deep rounded saddle, and top tip of right upright of  $\mu$ , like the  $\mu$  in 7 4 . . . [ , trace slightly below mid-level, close in to  $\epsilon$ , a round letter likely;  $\omicron$ ,  $\epsilon$ ,  $\omega$ ,  $\varsigma$ ,  $\theta$ ;  $\alpha$  not excluded 6 beneath this line, very tip of paragraphos beneath first  $\tau$  8 ] . . . , very likely  $\omega$  ligatured into following  $\nu$ , as in 1  $\tau\omega\nu$  and fr. 2.2  $\gamma\omega\nu$  ]  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ , before  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  an arc in the upper right quadrant,  $\omicron$  or  $\epsilon$  suggested  $\kappa$  [ , at end after kappa, oblique with blob at top as in left half of  $\lambda$ , but  $\alpha$  not excluded if written as in fr. 2.5  $\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$

Fr. 2

1 . . . [ , second letter lower half of  $\epsilon$  or  $\varsigma$ , but rather horizontal extending stroke at mid-level suggests the former over the latter; then an upright with a finial on the foot,  $\nu$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\pi$ ,  $\gamma$ , even  $\iota$  (but not  $\rho$ ) 2 . . . [ , right side of bowl, somewhat angular at lower right; a flattened  $\omicron$  suggested,  $\omega$  not ruled out? 4 . . . [ , leg of  $\lambda$ , perhaps sufficiently oblique to rule out  $\alpha$ ? 6 . . . [ , right arm of  $\nu$  . . . [ , stroke without serif or extension at foot leaning to right at top, with another stroke sloping down from a right loop to lower right,  $\mu$  suggested; not  $\iota$ ,  $\kappa$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\nu$ , or  $\pi$  8 . . . [ , trace curving down into  $\nu$  more obliquely than would be expected for epsilon (cf. epsilon in 10  $\gamma\epsilon\mu\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$ ), better  $\alpha$  9 . . . [ , right-hand arm of  $\nu$  . . . [ , high tip of an upright 10 ] . . . , horizontal cross bar extending at mid-level, tongue of  $\epsilon$ , with tip of cap above . . . [ , at end, horizontal slanting slightly down, but not as oblique as expected for  $\nu$  (but  $\nu$  not excluded?), thus likely  $\gamma$  (cf. fr. 1.1, fr. 2.2) below this line, a paragraphos spaced liberally beneath the line, extending to half way beneath the second  $\nu$

Fr. 1

↓

    ] **και δε** ] **κασιγνήτων εις γάμον η** . [   
     **ευχάριτος ανθρώπου και** . [   
     ] **δεξιῶν εις τετράγωνον ἐπὶ ἠν Μ[ήνην Ἀφροδίτη]**   
     ] **εἰσιδῆ, εὐπράκτους προσφιλέα[ς τε φέρε]**   
 5 ] **τμη] τοὺς ἀλόχοις, φίλοις χαρίε[ντας ἅπασιν.]**   
     ] **κρεῖ]ττον δ' ἦν ἐσιδῆ τῆν Κυ[θήρην Κρονίων.]**   
     **πεπαιδευμένον και φιλ[ολόγου]**   
     ] **στλβ]ων και Π[υρ]όεις και [ι Φωσφόρος εἰν ἐνι ζῳῳ]**

(Firm. Mat. Math. 6.30.20-23)

(20) si Luna in MC. fuerit inuenta, et in IMC. Uenus constituta partili Lunam radiatione respiciat, ista coniunctio incestae cupiditatis ardore sorores fratribus iunget uxores. (21) si in dextro quadrato Lunae Uenus fuerit collocata, faciet homines ad omnia officia negotiorum praeparatos, qui sibi multarum amicitiarum praesidia conquirant, et quos uxores fido diligunt semper affectu, et facit omnibus amicis amabili caritate coniunctos. sed haec fortius conualescent, si unum de duobus trigonica Iuppiter radiatione respiciat.

Fr. 2

↓

[...]ον κ[...]αγων[  
 [...]ον δ'ημηνα σχήμα τρίγων[νον(?)  
 [Ἡέ]λιος δανατοι φορεην βιοτ[  
 5 [ἦν] δέκατον δ' ἐκείδη {ν} θεματ[  
 [τα]ῖθ' ἐνὶ θεῖς εἴση τὸν τάδε μ[ειρόμενον·]  
 [εὖ]θήθη, χαρλεντα, φίλους ἦδιστ[α ποιόντα]  
 [π]ανταίης ἀρετῆς καὶ σοφίης μ[εγάλης]  
 [μ]ύθων τε βρητήρα ταχὺν πρη[ετήρα φέροντα,]  
 10 [γ]ενναῖον τρηχὺν δευῶν ἀγ[οντα δίκην.]  
 √  
 > Γ <  
 √  
 ]Περὶ τοῦ δεσπότου  
 [τοῦ τρέ]του θεματος

Fr. 1

'... with siblings in marriage ...'  
 'For a charming and [one word] person:  
 'When Venus aspects the Moon in right square, she produces men who achieve success, are good natured, who are honoured by their wives, and gracious to all their friends. It is an even stronger sign (of this) when Jupiter is (also?) in aspect to Venus.'  
 'For an educated and learned person:  
 'Mars and Mercury and Venus together in the same sign (produce ...)'

Fr. 2

(4–6 lines missing or unclear) 'If you put these things in, you shall recognise a person who is allotted the following things: being good-hearted, gracious, most pleasant to his friends, (a person) of all manner of

(22) si horoscopus in signo Virginis fuerit inuentus, et in eadem hora Mars et Mercurius et Uenus partiliter fuerint collocati, Iuppiter uero in occasu collocatus Piscium possederit signum, et his qui in horoscopo sunt partili radiatione iungatur, Sol uero in anafora horoscopi id est in Libra sit constitutus, et Luna quintum ab horoscopo locum in Capricorno constituta possideat, Saturnus uero in nono ab horoscopo loco positus signum Tauri teneat, qui sic hos omnes habuerit talis erit orator, ut in modum fulminum dictorum eius sententia proferantur, ut pro arbitrio eius multitudinis animi aut quiescentes excitentur, aut incensae facile mitigentur. talia etiam erunt eius dicta, ut haec ad augmentum et ad nutrimentum ingenii sui, posteritas contentiosa animositate perdiscat. talis orator ↑ apud Macedonem Philippum non armorum ui sed orationis licentia persequatur, et ut manifestus explicemus: haec genitura diuini Demostheni inspiravit ingenium. (23) si in Sagittario in finibus Ueneris Mars et Mercurius et Uenus simul fuerint collocati, et horoscopus eiusdem partis possederit finem, Iuppiter uero in Geminis constitutus ex occasu hos omnes diametra ratione respiciat ...

virtue and intelligence, and a rhetor who produces a swift hurricane of words, a noble, high-sounding, formidable pursuer of judgement.

(Book) 3  
 [ ] On the Ruling Sign  
 of the Third (?) (i.e. type of?) Horoscope'

Fr. 1

1 [καὶ δέ]: The same beginning at Manetho 4.407 καὶ δὲ κακινώτων. At the end, we need verb of motion/causation (ἡγιάγετο?): 'leads (someone with this sign) into marriage with siblings', unless this verb is understood from the preceding hexameter, in which case we could have the subject here, e.g. ἡ Ἴε Κύπρις] (a line-end at 4504 ii 13).

3 'in dextro quadrato': thus [δεξιὸν] (suggested by A. Jones). The line is left uncomfortably without a connecting particle, though for another case cf. 4504 ii 2. Perhaps a distich has dropped, or was omitted when these lines were excerpted. (i) the verb is understood: 'when Venus (is situated) in right square to the Moon ...', with Venus as subject named at the end of the line, e.g. ἐπὶν Μ[ηνην Κυθέρεια]; (ii) the verb was expressed at the beginning of the line, with no specification in Anoubion of a right-square; (iii) but the postponed ἐπὶν leads us to expect an expressed verb, either at the end of line (e.g. ἐπὶν Μ[ηνην ἐκαθρήσει]) or beginning of the next. Thus Venus as subject must be understood from the preceding prediction, or supplied at line end or the beginning of the next: cf. Manetho 5.122 Ἄρης δ' ἦν περὶ γωνίον ἴδοι καλὴν Ἀφροδίτην.

ἐπὶν: Epic and Ionic for ἐπεῖ, normally a metrical variant, but we could as well correct to ἐπὶν here. Manetho does not have ἐπὶν, but often uses the epic variant ἐπὶν for ἐπεῖ.

4 'faciet homines ad omnia officia negotiorum praeparatos, qui sibi multarum amicitiarum praesidia conquirant': the masculine plural accusatives in 4 and 5 show that we have an ἀκτῆρ ἄνδρας construction, i.e. the type of prediction which expresses in the plural the sort of person a given configuration will produce. Whether we supply [Ἀφροδίτῃ] or [ἐκείδῃ] at the beginning (and the other at the end of 3) we will have in either case corruption of the third syllable. For the enjambment with the pentameter see 4503 front fr. 2.3–4, cf. 10–11, Anoubion ap. CCAG II 202.33–6.

εὐπράκτους: 'successful in practice', cf. Manetho (whose ms. shows the spelling with eta) 2.310, and (in a pentameter) 5.352 εὐπρήκτους βέξει καὶ μακαριστοτάτους.

προσφίλε[ς τε]: the trace before the break is a mere point slightly below mid-level, but close in to ε, so that a round letter or α is preferable, since otherwise we would expect to see the top or bottom of its left upright. For the compound see Manetho 1.240, 329 προσφίλεας θῆκεν; 2.367 προσφίλεας.

φέρει: Manetho 6.259 εἵμασι πορφύρεοις τε φέρεῖ κοσμοῦμενον ἄνδρα; Manetho often has φέροντι, τελοῦσι, ποιοῦσι, τεύχει, τιθέασι, etc. in the ἀκτῆρ ἄνδρας construction. But τελεῖ here would violate Anoubion's preference for paroxytones at verse-end in the pentameter.

5 'ei quos uxoribus fido diligunt semper affectu, ei facit omnibus amicis amabili caritate coniunctos': thus we will need a connective, plus an adjective describing how those born under this configuration are regarded by their spouses: either [τημ]τοῖς or [μερ]τοῖς will suit (both suggested by Professor Parsons, with other refinements).

ἀλόχοις: the opposite at Manetho 2.171 ἀλόχοις ἡρμοσσαν δευκαεταίαι; cf. 1.272 ἐὰς κενόνας ἀλόχοις. For ἀλόχοις see also III 464 59; though the context there is uncertain, the line there is not the same as this one.

χαρ[έ]ντας ἀπαυ[ο]ν: = Firmicus' omnibus amicis; cf. Manetho 2.73 χαρ[έ]ντας ἰδ' ἡμερόντας ἔπεσσι; 6.288.

6 'sed haec fortis conualescent, si unum de duobus trigonica Iuppiter radiatione respiciat': thus we will have [κρεῖ]πτον δ' at the beginning of the line. Cf. III 464 16 ἀλλοτριῶν ὄντων κρέπτον; and 4504 ii 9 χεῖρον. Here the sense is something like: 'It's even more so the case, if ...'. Jupiter and 'one of the two' (sc. Venus and the Moon) are to be supplied from Firmicus. But the Latin seems to diverge with regard to the position. Κ[ύ]πρις/ν or Κ[υ]θήρ- could be read; and τῆν could be the article or the demonstrative. Thus we could have (i) τῆν Κ[υ]θήρην Κρονίω[ν], 'when Jupiter aspects Venus' (for the article see on 4504 ii 11; the accusative never in Manetho, who has Κυθήρη and Κυθήρης, but Κυθήρειαν and Κυθήρη); this makes Jupiter aspect only one of Firmicus' alternative signs; (ii) τῆν Κ[ύ]πρις ἢ Κρονίω[ν], 'when Venus or Jupiter aspect her (sc. the Moon)'; but this is even further from what Firmicus says. It seems impossible to fit in τρήγωνον and accommodate exactly what Firmicus says. Therefore it seems likely that Firmicus (or an intermediary) has refined or restated the prediction, so that the Latin gives a more complex arrangement with a trigonic configuration, where Anoubion had a simple aspect. In both Anoubion and Firmicus, it is not entirely clear whether this configuration is

meant as a new and independent prediction (separate from that in 2-5), or whether it is a modification of the preceding one, to be taken together with it (the latter seems more likely).

7 πεπαιδευμένου και φιλολόγου]: cf. Firmicus 6.30.24 where the prediction is said to produce someone *quā docili veritate et divini ingenii potestate compositus*.

8 'et in eadem hora Mars et Mercurius et Venus partititer fuerint collocati'. Anoubion seems to have had nothing about the *hora* or Virgo (unless it came in the lacuna following, but see below). But if ΠΥΡ]όεις (suggested by A. Jones) can be restored, then [CΤ]Αβ]ων at the beginning is suggested, and conforms admirably to the traces. At end after x we may have λ (which is not very productive), or possibly a. If κα]ι, then out of possible epithets for Venus we should expect Φωσφόρος to follow, based on Firmicus and metre (the next specification in Firmicus, Jupiter, Κρονίδης or Κρονίωας, will not fit the traces here: kappa followed by the left side of alpha or lambda).

[ελν ἐνι ζώω]: supplied from 4504 ii 10, where see note.

Fr. 2

1-3 It cannot be ascertained which were hexameters, which pentameters, or whether these were prose headings.

1 We take this to be part of an independent line (rather than one adjoining with fr. 1.8), but with minimal or even no loss in between: Firmicus' account indicates that the prediction must begin within several lines, and in the Greek we get [Hε]λιος = Sol after three preserved lines (fr. 2.4). Anoubion's positioning of the planets is in any case likely to have been less sophisticated and more economical than in Firmicus.

2 Possibly τετραγων]. Cf. Anoubion ap. Hephæstion 2.2. (p. 91 Pingree) vv. 11-12:

εἰ δέ κεν 'Ἡελίος γ' ἄλλοις μοίρας ἔχη ἄστρων,  
χρὴ τετράγωνα θ' ὄραν καὶ διάμετρα τόπων.

3 ]ων written as a variant for ]ω (the omicron apparently not cancelled). The proper articulation is not obvious; some re-writing will be required. Perhaps the scribe should have written δ' ἡ Μήνη κυήμα. If so and if verse, only one long is lost at the beginning before ]ω or ]ον.

4 'Sol vero in anafora horoscopi id est in Libra sit constitutus, etc.'. From this point the correspondence with Firmicus wanes, but there remain tantalising vestiges of the original. We have a reference to the sun, and δ(ε) probably adding on a modification of a previously commenced position; an apparent hexameter, probably with ἀνά in thesis and τοι, since ἀνατοι 'harmless' (of two planets in a particular position?) normally has a long second alpha. The shape of a pentameter is not in evidence; if a hexameter, at least one pentameter has dropped, since the next verse (5) is another hexameter.

βιστ]: At Manetho 3.589 we have βιστον τελέοντα; at 3.384 the same phrase occurs at line-end. In Manetho βιστος always refers to the kind of material fortune (usually considerable) provided by a given position of the stars: so also 4503 back fr. 2.12 with note. Thus we expect a verb at line end, e.g. ἔδωκεν, with the Sun as subject (in Firmicus' more complicated configuration, the prediction appears to have been considerably postponed). In light of Firmicus' αναφορά, one could try δ' ἀνά τοι φορέη (ν) βιστ]ω δυνάστην (vel sim. at end). Alternatively, possibly a case of βιστοεκότος = ὠροεκότος (Manetho 4.572) is to be considered.

5 θεματ]: i.e. a horoscope (c.g. Manetho 3.278); cf. fr. 2.13 with note.

6-10 The Greek bears less relation than usual to the Latin, which has been transformed by the interpolation of the historical exemplum, which has been corrupted in the mss. Nevertheless, vestiges of the original can be glimpsed here and there.

6 Beginning either [το]θθ' or [τα]θθ'. Should we read ἐνι θεϊς, in which case what is ἐνι? 'when you have put these in one sign? (sc. ζωδία) or chart? (sc. χηματα)' or position? (sc. θέματα, cf. 5 θεματ]). Or has tau been wrongly assimilated to theta (as in 4503 recto fr. 2.16 θ' ἰδίοις), and we should read ἐνιθεϊς? (neither expression in Manetho).

ετη]: cf. 4504 ii 2 var. lect. εθροικ, and for the second person used of the would be astrologer in an address see on 4503 front fr. 2.6 and introd. τᾶδε could be taken with 7 [εὐ]θήη ('the following true characteristics'; for the enjambment, see on fr. 1.4) with the implication that such signs will be true ones, in which case the prediction, with its instruction to the reader in the second person, will be reminiscent of the direct address to the reader in 4503 back fr. 2.3-6, where the reader is instructed to report his findings, having easily discerned κατέμιν ἐτηγημίας (6). The direct address seems to be a feature of design and closure here, since this is the last prediction in the book and effectively its conclusion.

τὸν τᾶδε μ]. For the demonstrative, without the article, cf. 4504 ii 6 ἐπὶ τοῦδε τόποι. With τὸν is wanted

a transitive participle to control τᾶδε, e.g. μ[α]ιόμενον, 'one who strives after', or μ[ε]γόμενον 'who combines' these things, i.e. the traits elaborated in 7-10. But divinatory context and epicising style recommend μ[ε]ρόμενον, 'obtains one's share or lot', e.g. Π. 1.278, 616 ἤμμεν μέροε τιμῆς, 15.189, originally completed by genitive, but in later authors by accusative: LSJ sv. Π. 1. citing A.R. 3.208, Nic. Al. 488.

7 [εὐ]θήη: in the good sense; presumably masc. acc. sing., in apposition with τὸν μ[ε]ρόμενον (rather than neut. pl. agreeing with τᾶδε in enjambment).

χαρίεντα could of course be neuter plural as well as masc. acc., and we could articulate ἤθη taken as object of μ[ε]ρόμενον vel. sim. in 6 (i.e. what is produced is not persons, but their characters or qualities). But the beginning would be difficult to accommodate: [πᾶν] ἤθη, 'their entire personality' would be too long at the beginning. Afterwards I had thought to read χαρίεντα φίλους, ἤδιε[ρον ἔπεσσω], taking φίλους as acc. of respect, cf. Manetho 2.73 χαρίεντα ἰδ' ἡμερέντας ἔπεσσω, or ἤδιε[ρον ἄκοιων], cf. Plato. *Apol.* 38c = Firmicus' eius dicta. Professor Parsons, however, suggests χαρίεντα, φίλους ἤδιε[τα ποιούντα], which is attractive even without the correspondence to Firmicus' orator.

8-9 At the left edge, we seem to be within a letter of the line beginnings at this point; cf. 10.

[π]αντοίης ἀρετῆς καὶ σοφίας: cf. Firmicus' *ad nutrimentum ingenii ... inspiravit ingenium*, and the parallels from Manetho cited below on 9. Probably a genitive of characteristic, describing the kind of person born under this configuration, i.e. 'a man of virtue and wisdom'. Alternatively with the genitives we could also have μ[ε]τροχον] or μ[ε]ροσ[α] line end.

9 [μ]ύθων τε ῥητήρα: a quotation of Π. 9.443 (see also below). For the lengthening before β- see West, *Greek Metre* p. 16. Manetho 1.259 has ῥητήρας μύθων τε καὶ ἐν ἀγορῆν ἀρίστους, 3.350 ῥητήρας μύθων ἀγαθοῦ σοφίη τε μάλ' αἰεὶ; 4.79 ῥητήρας μύθων σοφίᾳ τε πᾶμπαν ἀρίστους. Note that in Anoubion, Manetho's σοφίη and ἀρετή came in the preceding pentameter (8).

ῥητήρα ταχόν: ταχός could refer to speed or power of delivery, and thus be correlated with Firmicus' orator: in modum fulminum dictorum eius multitudinis animi. At end, it would also be possible to restore the ending of Π. 9.443 πη[κ]τήρα τε ἐργων], thus making the astrological poet quote almost the whole of the line (Phoenix to Achilles: μύθων τε ῥητήρ' ἔμεναι πη[κ]τήρα τε ἐργων). Doubt is cast, however, by A.'s avoidance elsewhere of replicating Homer extensively in favour of re-writing him, and there is nothing corresponding in the Latin, whereas in *modum fulminum* suggests a form of πη[κ]τήρ, e.g. πη[κ]τήρα φέροντα, λέγοντα, or πη[κ]τήρι ὅμοιον. It is at any rate abundantly clear that the Greek did not include mention of Philip of Macedon or Demosthenes given as historical exempla by Firmicus (6.30.22).

10 For δεινόν as a technical term in rhetoric see J. Rea, *ZPE* 99 (1993) 83.

ἀγ[ον]τα δίκην]: is *exempli gratia*, i.e. the sort of expression that might have given rise to Firmicus' use of Demosthenes as a famous example of this type of person (*non amorum in sed orationis licentia persequabatur*). Professor Parsons suggests ἀγ[υ]νοθέτην] (= Firmicus' *pro arbitrio eius*).

11 Γ: For the decorations esp. in colophons on numbers and titles see R. Criboire, *Writing, Teachers, and Students* (1996) 79 with further literature. Often the book number follows the title in colophons, rather than preceding as here. But practice is not fixed in this regard.

12 It is reasonable to suppose that the author's name, [Ἄνουβιονος], stood in the genitive in the lacuna, but judged from the preserved distichs, there seems to be only room for c. 8 letters, if one assumes that the lines of the colophon did not extend further left than the lines of the column. In addition, *περι του δεσποτου* (without anything preceding) would be centred more or less exactly on the last line of verse. But this ignores the fact that the Γ (book number) is already positioned in the preceding line far to the left of the centre of the last line of verse. One might have expected the Γ to be centred in the colophon, so that (π)ερι του δεσποτου would be balanced by as many letters to the left of Γ as it shows to the right, and allowing [Ἄνουβιονος] to stand in this place. Alternatives may be canvassed: perhaps the name stood in the nominative case, or perhaps *ελεγεια* or *ἐπιγράμματα* preceded *περι του δεσποτου* as part of the title. But when Hephæstion refers to *Ἄνουβιον εν τοις ελεγεια* he probably means *ελεγεια* as a description of A.'s verse-form, not as a title (so Gundel and Gundel, *Astrologoumena* 156 n. 41, against Cumont, *CCAG* VIII 1.147).

δεσποτου: the ruling sign of the house, by which the predictions are framed. The prose headings, however, stress not the signs (ζώδια, θέματα) themselves, but the types of people who are born or married under them (see introd., on the prose headings).

13 [τὸν τρι]του θεματος: θέμα denotes the positioning of the heavenly bodies as charted by the astrologer, i.e. a *genitura*, or what we call a horoscope; cf. 5 θεματ]; Manetho 3.278, 283 (separate θέματα for day and night); Anoubion ap. Hephæstion 2.2. (p. 90 Pingree) vv. 9-10:

χρη δὲ Σεληναίης προτέρη ἀνελέθει ἀριθμῶν  
ἄρην νεκτερωτῆν ἐκεπτόμενον θέματος.

For the word ending  $\gamma\tau\omicron\upsilon$  other restorations might be entertained ([καθ' ἐκάς]του θέματος?). It is unclear whether this was a sub-title, or continued the title *περὶ τοῦ δεσπότητος* from 12. [τοῦ τρι]του θέματος is recommended at least by the book number (1), entailing two preceding books, presumably each devoted to the dominion of a different sign, though giving particulars for specific accompanying configurations. At least two books might have been suspected from the excerpted distich which closes Manetho book 5:

λοῦπόν μοι Μοῦσαι δότ' αἰεὶ πλείονα τοῦτον  
εἰς ἑτέραν βιβλίον τῶδε μέτρον πρὸς ἔπος.

(Cf. Usener, *RhMus* N.F. 55 (1900) 336.) Book Three will have presumably dealt with the domination of Venus. Perhaps the 'third *type* of *θέμα* is meant'.

At this point (6.30.23-6) Firmicus adds four additional predictions (see introd.), each positive in their outcome and embellished with encomia of Homer, Plato, Pindar and Archilochus, and Archimedes in terms reminiscent of this concluding, positive prediction in Anoubion's third book. This suggests that although inspired by Anoubion, as in **4503** back (see on fr. 2.9-12), Firmicus has diversified his data in order to manufacture multiple predictions out of what in his source was a single one.

D. OBBINK

## 4506. ANOUBION (?), ELEGIACS

50 4B.30/C(1-3)b  
+ /H(3-4)iii

fr. 1: 7.5 × 9.2 cm

Second century  
Platc XIV

Four fragments from a register of persons with distinguishing characteristics (late i-ii?) recycled as a literary roll. Elegiac distichs are written across the fibres in a respectable bookhand: one fragment with top margin of 2.5 cm and ends of 12 lines, and three further fragments, one of them with line-ends. Fibre alignment (discerned by Dr Coles) confirms the placing of fr. 2 directly below fr. 1, but at an indeterminate interval. The placing of fr. 3-4 is uncertain, and there is no guarantee that they belong to the same column. Hand is a very round upright capital, fairly bilinear; bottom-line violated by only  $\phi$  and  $\rho$ . Letters in general made separately, but there is some connection tolerated, in spite of the formality and speed of the hand (e.g. in fr. 1.1  $\epsilon\upsilon\tau$ ). Epsilon is of the variety with the mid-stroke extending beyond the arms to the right, with the top coming over so far as sometimes to connect with the tip of the mid-stroke or nearly so. Alpha is of the variety with a flat top but sagging bottom in its left-hand part, which is sometimes only flimsily connected to the right-hand oblique (e.g. fr. 2.6); the oblique sometimes bows inward (fr. 1.3). Hypsilon large and v-shaped, with a tiny loop at bottom, fully bilinear. No decoration, minimal shading. Letter forms suggest second century: the alpha earlier, the hypsilon later. XVIII **2161** Aeschylus, *Dietyuloi* (ii AD assigned) = *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 24 is a rough parallel (except for the alpha, for which see e.g. P. Fayum 6 = *GLH* 9c, Homer, *Iliad*, after early i AD).

There are no reading marks or word articulation. In fr. 3 a paragraphos appears, whether for punctuation or to divide the verses into groups is uncertain. There is no preserved evidence for elision.

There is no identifiable overlap with any known text of Anoubion in either the papyrus fragments or quotations in the secondary tradition, nor with any of the astrological elegiacs not specifically attributed to Anoubion. Diction and content are consistent with them, and identification as elegiacs is beyond question. No link with any part of Firmicus Maternus has been discovered.

Thus the authorship (like that of **4507**) cannot be determined with certainty. If not from Anoubion's original poem, **4506-7** are at least related to Anoubion, in the same way as the other astrological elegiac adespotas: III **464** (late iii AD pap. roll), P. Ryl. III 488, P. Schubart 16, PSI III 157 (all ii AD papyrus rolls), the pentameters of the modular elegiac horoscopes interspersed throughout book 5 of Manetho (one quoted as from Manetho by Hephaestion 2.4 p. 102.10-11 Pingree = Manetho 5.167-9), and the astrological elegiac distichs in D. Hagedorn ed., *Der Hiohokommentar des Arianers Julian* (Berlin 1973) 255.5-11, 260.2-6, cf. introd. LXVI-LXIX on Anoubion. Some of these do in fact find parallels scattered throughout the text of Firmicus (e.g. books 3 and 4 in the case of PSI III 157). Even where they do not find such parallels, a case can be made that some of these elegiacs (where textually and metrically sound) derive from A.'s poem. A. Ludwich argued that they all do: 'Das elegische Lehrgedicht des Astrologen Anubion und die Manethoniana', *Philologus* 63 = N.S. 17 (1904) 116-34; id. 'Nachlese zu den Fragmenten des Astrologen Anubion', *Philologus* 64 = N.S. 18 (1905) 280-3. The elegiac distichs attributed to *Ανουβίων ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις* by Hephaestion of Thebes and Rhetorius are similarly nowhere paralleled in Firmicus. In any event, the case for Anoubion's authorship of all these elegiacs is stronger, now that it is known (from the poem preserved in **4503**, with **4504-5** and P. Schubart 15) that his work circulated as a formal didactic poem. For III **464** see the corrections of Housman in *CR* 17 (1903) 385-6; W. Kroll, 'Ein astrologischer Dichterling', *Philologus* 63 = N.S. 17 (1904) 135-8; S. Weinstock, *Cd'E* 27 (1952) 216; O. Neugebauer and H. B. van Hoesen, 'Astrological Papyri and Ostraca: Bibliographical Notes', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 108 (1964) 61 no. 122. Like **4503-5** and the other elegiac adespotas, **4506** and **4507** both recycle expressions from Dorotheus and Manetho, confirming the hypothesis of Weinstock (p. 216) that Anoubion and perhaps other writers of astrological epigrams and hexameters reused their own and each other's verses in compilation fashion, as the Manethoniana repeat hexameters of Dorotheus.

The word divisions introduced are not in the papyrus.

Fr. 1

↓

[		]ερεφην επικεντρος
[		]ολου
[		]ρια κοιρανεουσαν
[		]αλω







## III. COMEDY

## 4508. PROSE MENTIONING ARISTOPHANES

88/474(a)

Fr. 1 3.3 × 5 cm

Second century  
Plate XV

Four fragments of a roll containing a work of prose. There is a lower margin of 1.7 cm in fr. 1; fr. 3 preserves part of the intercolumnium on its right. A kollesis is visible near the right-hand edge of fr. 3. If the restorations proposed below for fr. 1.9–11 have any chance of being true, the original line length may be estimated at 14–17 letters, that is 3.6 cm; but this is perhaps unlikely, see 1.7–11 n. The writing is along the fibres. There is nothing on the back.

The hand, medium-sized and informal, is of the general type in which many commentaries and hypotheses were written. The letters do not always have the same *ductus*, and ligatures are often admitted.  $\pi$  has its right-hand leg curved,  $\varsigma$  is made in two movements, with the cap traced later,  $\nu$  appears either as a sweeping shallow curve on a long stem or v-shaped,  $\omega$  is flat-based. Some features, like the lop-sided triangular omicron and the broad sweeping top of epsilon, have parallels in a group of literary hands commonly ascribed to the later second century, see XXXIV 2683 introd. (LXIV 4405 is another fragment of the same manuscript; the hand is now assigned to the late second/early third century, but I see no reason to uphold the later terminus; cf. also M. W. Haslam, LVII 3878 introd.). But this hand does not have the highly stylised narrow  $\epsilon$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\varsigma$ , or not consistently (straight-backed epsilon twice, but elsewhere broad and round). A date within the latter half of the second century seems likely.

The chief point of interest is the reference to Aristophanes'  $\Omega\rho\alpha\iota$ . Only a few fragments of this play (fr. 577–89) have been transmitted through the indirect tradition. Its plot centred on the quarrel between the established and the new gods (for an analysis see J. Moreau, *Nouv. Cliv* 6 (1954) 327 ff.). It is probable that shortly after the point where fr. 1 breaks off a quotation was given. What precedes the reference to  $\Omega\rho\alpha\iota$  gives little clue as to its content.

The only lectional sign in evidence is a circumflex in fr. 4.2. Given that there must have been at least one verse of poetry cited in this work, and that circumflexes are more at home in a poetic text, we could think of a quotation from poetry.

The nature of the text is not clear. The content might lead us to think of a commentary, perhaps on a comic play. But there is more than one kind of prose that could include quotations, and didascalic material, if that is to be recognised in fr. 2, such as treatises on literary criticism, literary biographies, anecdotal works, etc. Ammonios' *Καμφοδόμενοι*, a work discussing various individuals satirised in Old Comedy, is no more than a possibility.

I am grateful to Professor W. Luppe for the suggestions quoted.

## Fr. 1

	]ολα[	
	]νδ[	
	]ςτ[	
	]ζα. [ . . . ]αρι. [	
5	]ανοστ[ . . . ]ερι[	
	]ςφυλακτηρι[	]ς φυλακῆς πι[
	]αριαδηςτων[	X]αριαδης τῶν[ (or τῷ ν[)
	]ωνκαλλίου[	]ων Καλλίου [
	]τοφανησεν. [	Αρις]τοφάνης ἐν [
10	]αραγειτασωρ[	π]αράγει τὰς Ὠρ[α
	]ουσασπροστο[	-]ούσας πρὸς το[
	(foot)	

4 ι. [, possibly top of descending oblique, but see note below 8 ], horizontal trace between the elements of the first loop of ω; part of the crossbar of a letter such as τ? 9 . [, small left-hand arc

	Fr. 2	Fr. 3	Fr. 4
	] . σευ. [	] . ελοι [	] . σο. [
	]τοφιλ[	]αιτι[ ] [	]φᾶνδ[
	]νιδης[	] . νω [	]δεδει[
	] . σα. [	] . υσια [	] . ρσαιπ[
5	] . . το[	]ωνι [	] . ικαλ. [
	]εκρι. [	]ενη [	
	]αστ[	] . δια [	
	] . κρω. [	]λλι [	
	]θεσι[	]ουγ [	
10	] . . . [		

Fr. 2 1 ], lower part of ο? . [, η, ν or left-hand part of π 4 ], right-hand part of high horizontal . . . [, left-hand part of ν (?), then large ink smudge that has covered also the ensuing letter 5 ], linkstroke; ι or ρ with minute circlet 6 . [, upright joining descending oblique to top right (ν?) 8 ], curved trace at two-thirds height, perhaps a link-stroke only . [, curved back on edge 10 ] . . . [, (all traces on the horizontal tear) top of upright; top of descending oblique; short high horizontal



- Fr. 3 1 ], right-hand tip of horizontal at two-thirds height (linkstroke?) 3 ], lower part of descending oblique joining upright to right 4 ], descending oblique joining upright at foot (v)  
7 ], right-hand tip of high horizontal  
Fr. 4 1 [, lower left-hand are followed by long descender curved leftwards at foot (φ or ψ) 4 ], rising oblique trace at two-thirds height, perhaps only a link-stroke 5 ], lower part of descending oblique joining adjacent upright, link-stroke or part of α [, low trace on edge

## Fr. 1

4 The trace at the right-hand edge does not exclude c (upper left-hand corner), and in view of l. 9 one may think of some form of Ἀριε[τοφάνης. But α is also possible, and one may think of Χ[αριά[3- (Luppe), see below 7 n.

5 πθ]ανότ[ητα η]ερι[ is one possibility among many (also in 6 π[θαν- might be considered).

6 φυλακή. The word is attested in too wide a range of meanings to cast any light on this passage; nor is it clear how any of the towns called Φυλακή would be relevant. Before it, τ[η]c is a possibility.

7 Χ[αριάδης. The identity of the person and the reason for which he is mentioned here are obscure. Does he relate to Kallias and/or the Aristophanic play? Or does he belong to a different part of the narration, where the broken lines 1-6 also belong? The name is attested in Euphro fr. 1.7 and Sosip. fr. 1.11; both come from third century comedies, and are monologues delivered by cooks. But it is hard to associate them with Kallias in the next line; date and status do not match. The name is not uncommon in classical Athens, cf. M. J. Osborne, S. Byrne, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* ii s.v. It may be legitimate to think of a contemporary of Kallias. Some officials at the end of the fifth century bear this name, cf. *PA* s.v., and one may think of a topical reference in a comedy or of some sort of didascalic information.

It may be worth noting that there is an Athenian strategos named Χαροιάδης, cf. R. Develin, *Athenian Officials 684-321 B.C.* (1989) 450. He was killed in 427, so he was a contemporary of Kallias and Aristophanes. The itacistic mistake, ι for οι, cannot be ruled out, but cannot be proved.

8 ] ων. Perhaps to be taken with the των of the previous line, especially if the original line length was short, but see below 7-11 n. The possibility that it is the ending of a name and the ensuing genitive a patronymic may also be considered, but I am unable to propose any identification.

Καλλίου. According to a scholion on Luc. *Iov. trag.* 48, Aristophanes made mention of Kallias in *Horae* (= Ar. fr. 583). He is the same person as the one referred to in *Ran.* 428-30 and 501, Kallias son of Hipponikos (not to be confused with his paternal grandfather, also named Καλλίας Ἰππονίκου), whose reputation as a socialite and womaniser provided humorous material for Cratinus and possibly Eupolis. For this figure, cf. J. K. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600-300 B.C.* (1971) 256 ff. and Dover's commentary ad loc.

The context of this reference to Kallias (cf. fr. 3.8, 4-5) is unclear. Although there is no evidence to the contrary, it does not seem likely that he was one of the characters of the play. Perhaps he only served for a comparison and/or as an example, in much the same manner as in *Ranae*. If so, we may think that the purpose of the passage adduced from *Horae* was to illustrate a point regarding Kallias.

9 ἐν ᾧ[ραε? The surviving trace allows ω. In commentaries references to an author's work were formulated by ἐν+ dative or by the dative alone, with or without the article. But there can be no certainty about this articulation.

10 η]αράγει: 'introduces on the stage', 'represents', cf. LSJ s.v. IIIb. In this sense and construction it is not infrequently found in the scholia on dramatic authors, cf. a scholion on *Nu.* 534 (534a Holwerda) *σοφοκλήης ἐν Ἠλέκτρῳ δράματι Ἰερίην παράγει χόας ἐνεγκούσας* etc., and *Σ*<sup>9</sup> on E. *Med.* 1386 *τὴν γὰρ Μῆδειαν παράγει πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπούσαν* (and a quotation follows).

The ᾧ[ραι composed the chorus of the play, cf. Morcau, loc. cit. 327 ff.

11 It is tempting to restore λεγ]ούσας (or εἰπ]ούσας) and τὸ]ν (or το]ύς); a character's name must have followed, and then a citation of the *Horae*'s words; for the construction λέγω πρὸς τινα see 4521 959 n. Of course πρὸς το] may be the beginning of their quotation. But there are more possibilities, e.g. ἐνεγκ]ούσας, as in the first parallel above, etc.

7-11 Since the sense may run on directly from 10 to 11, it is tempting to assume a short line and restore:

X]αριάδης των[ c. 4

ων Καλλίου [ὁ δ' Ἀρι-

ε]τοφάνης ἐν ᾧ[ραε

10 η]αράγει τὰς ᾧ[ραι λε-

γ]ούσαι πρὸς το]

That leaves very little space to restore a connection between Chariades and Kallias in 7-8. Similarly 5-6 might belong closely together. But I do not see how to restore this in detail; and if we look for Ἀριε[τοφάν- in 4, the original line must have been longer (unless what I take as τ in 5 is upsilon; in that case we get Ἀριε[τοφ]άνου[ε, the expected length, but υ is palaeographically difficult). It will be safer to assume that the lines were in fact longer. (Professor Luppe *exempli gratia* suggests restoring Χ[αριάδης τῶν [οἰκ]ε]τῶν (or [δημο]τῶν) Καλλίου. [καὶ Ἀρι]ε]τοφάνης κτλ., while in line 6 there would be room only for a form of π[ι]ε]τῶς, unless we restore φυλακή π[ι]ε]θου. He remarks that in 7 there is no space for a connective particle, hence what comes before should be a lemma, and we are dealing with an *hypomnema*.)

## Fr. 2

1 Εβη[ολ- is one possibility.

3 Φιλωνίδης, one of the producers of Aristophanes' plays, is an obvious, but not the sole, candidate; for names with this ending see *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* ii 493 f. It may not be unrelated to Φιλ[ in 2 and ]ων- in fr. 3.5. The other producer Kallistratos may have been named in fr. 3.8, 4-5.

6, 8 ]εκρυ[ can be read in 6, ]εκρυε[ or -νο[ in 8. There may be some form of κρένειν in both, or of ἰποκρίνεσθαι, if this passage is concerned with the production of the plays, cf. on 3. The *Vita* of Aristophanes seems to have Philonides and Aristophanes acting his own plays in roughly the same context: μηδὲν μὴν ἰποκρίνεσθαι τινας τολμῶντας, δι' αὐτοῦ δ' Ἀριε]τοφάνης ἰπεκρίνατο (Test. 1.13 f. in *PCG* III.2). Professor Luppe thinks that, if we are dealing with a commentary, it could be that ]εκρυ[ (6) belongs to a lemma, and is picked up by ]εκρυε[ (8) in the exegesis.

9 ἰπὸ]θεε[ε]c/v would fit a didascalic context.

## Fr. 3

4 Διο]γύσια is an easy guess.

8 Χα]λλ- one possibility, cf. 1.8, 4-5.

## Fr. 4

2 -]φάν. Perhaps an infinitive ending, such as, e.g., τροφάν.

4 ] ραιπ[ η]εραε (Πέρσαι or e.g. διαπέρσαι) cannot be confirmed.

5 Καλλ] possible, cf. 1.8, 3.8; 2.3 n.

N. GONIS

## 4509. COMMENTARY ON AR. VESPAE

88/113(a)

Fr. 1 3.8 × 7.5 cm

Second century  
Platc XV

Five fragments from a commentary on Aristophanes' *Vespaie*; the most substantial (fr. 1) refers to vv. 36-41. Fr. 1 preserves a lower margin of 2.4 cm; 0.3 cm of the intercolumnium survives on the left of fr. 5. The writing is along the fibres. The backs of fr. 1 and 4 are blank, but those of fr. 2 and 3 carry cursive writing (from a land

register?); this might suggest that fr. 2 and 3 come from a different roll, but I see no other reason to think so.

The hand is semi-cursive, of the kind that is often called 'scholastic'. Letters usually touch, and in certain cases are ligatured to each other. Note the irregularity of the *ductus* of some letters:  $\nu$  sometimes in the conventional shape but sometimes with the diagonal joining the right-hand hasta half way up, and  $\upsilon$ , usually  $\nu$ -shaped but once Y-shaped. Other remarkable letter forms include  $\epsilon$  with protruding mid-stroke separated from the curve, the semi-cursive  $\eta$ ,  $\kappa$  u-shaped,  $\pi$  with top and right-hand hasta in a single flow,  $\phi$  with very prolonged stem. The script may be assigned to the second century, preferably to the latter half. It shares certain significant features with Schubart, PGB 32b, a document of c. 200, and BGU V 1210 (*Gnomon of the Idios Logos*) of c. 170. The cursive hand on the back of fr. 2 and 3 can be placed in the first half of the third century.

Because of its fragmentary nature, the precise layout of the commentary cannot be established with certainty. Lemmata may consist of a series of verses (1.8–10), or a single verse (1.1?), or a phrase (1.7?); in 1.6 an individual word is picked out and glossed. The commentator is selective. Not every verse is represented (we pass straight from v. 36 to v. 38, it seems); and despite the long lemmata, not every word in them will have been annotated, as we can judge from l. 8, where  $\phi[\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\omega\prime$  is copied in the lemma although it must already have been explained at its first appearance in v. 35.

Lemmata often begin in mid-line. It seems that they were set off by a short blank space from the preceding comment (1.8) and probably from the ensuing exegesis too (see 1.6 n). Since the margin is lost, it is impossible to know whether they were further marked by *ekthesis* (as in e.g. XIX 2221) or by critical signs (*dipleai*) or punctuation (*paragrapheoi*); parallels show that such means of highlighting the quoted text were widely current, cf. K. McNamee, *Marginalia and Commentaries in Greek Literary papyri* (Diss. Duke 1977) 34 f.

No lectional signs are in evidence. There is one case of elision made tacitly (1.8). Abbreviation by suspension occurs twice (1.4, 8).

Although not much remains, verbal similarities allow a connection with the scholastic tradition to be made. The wording of the comments on v. 36, contained in 1.2–6, has many affinities with the existing scholia. Furthermore, if the restoration suggested in 1.4–5 n. below holds true, it is notable that this commentary combines two notes which appear separately in the medieval scholia, each in a distinct family of manuscripts ( $\Sigma^R$  and  $\Sigma^V$ ); i.e. it testifies to a state of the exegesis before it was excerpted and dispersed. This general relationship comes as no surprise. Compare the very similar case in XI 1371, where the marginalia on *Nu.* 1–11 coincide with those of R and V in both content and wording, cf. K. Dover, *Aristophanes Frogs* 96.

We suspect that the commentators of the Roman period drew on earlier work mainly through the *variorum* commentaries of Didymos. We know of two names, Symmachos and Phaeinos, and of some others referred to simply as 'some others'. The

date of Phaeinos is uncertain; Symmachos, if he was cited by Herodian (1.319.28 f.), must have been active in the second century or earlier, not too distant from the date of our text. But of course there is no particular reason to attribute that text to either of them. (For literature on scholastic activity regarding Aristophanes see J. Henderson, *Lysistrata* lvii n. 7.)

If the dating proposed is right, it seems that this is the oldest surviving commentary on a play of Aristophanes known from the medieval tradition. The other commentaries on Aristophanes which survive on papyrus are VI 856 (=Pack-Mertens 138) on *Acharnenses* (iii), PRain III 20 (=Pack-Mertens 146.1) on *Nubes* (v), PRain I 34 + PVind 29833C (=Pack-Mertens 149.2) on *Pax* (v), and two on lost comedies, XXXV 2737 (=Ar. fr. 590, i/ii) and PFlor II 112 (=Ar. fr. 591, ii/iii). On Aristophanic commentaries see McNamee, op. cit. 187 ff.

What survives does not suffice to justify a confident assessment of the scope and quality of this commentary. It seems to have been more extensive and elaborate (note in the comment on v.36) than 856, which conveys only simple prosopographic and glossographic information. Whether it was as learned as 2737, it is impossible to tell: in what we have the discussion is not very deep, but I doubt whether it could have gone any deeper on this particular passage.

With the exception of a mistake in v.39, the lemmata contribute nothing new towards the text of the play.

I am again indebted to Professor W. Luppe for his help with this text.

## Fr. 1

	[ . . . ]		
	]νε . . . ρημε[	(36)	φωνη]ν ἐμπερημέν[η. ὕδς
	] κλεωνακακο[		το]ν Κλέωνα κακο[
	]παφλαγοαντον[		] Παφλαγό(να) αὐτόν[
5	]λαζεινηνδε[		πα]φλάζειν. ἦν δὲ[
	] ἐμπεφυσημε[		] ἐμπεφυσημέ[νης
	] οντουνηπιον[		] ον τοῦνύπιον[
	] μω ἠθημαραφ[	(39)	] μω ἠθ' ἢ μαρὰ φ[άλλων'
	] ονδημον[	(40)	βόει]ον δημόν[
10	] ετα διςτα[	(41)	βοῦ]λεται διέκταν[αι
	(foot)		

1] . . . [, dots on line, probably feet of uprights      2 ε . . . , foot of ascending oblique followed by a lower arc at one-third height and another right-facing at lower right; lower part of upright, then another

strongly curved at the foot, together η or π; lower part of left-hand curve; same as second [ ], foot of upright curved to left 3 [ ], upright 4 [ ], curved back 5 [ ], speck at one-third height [ ], upright 6 [ ], tip of upper curve, specks below (ε?) 7 [ ], low horizontal trace curving upwards at the end (flatish lower curve?) [ ], letter-foot on edge 8 [ ], right-hand part of μ or ω 9 [ ], triangular apex 10 [ ], lower part of descending oblique a, [ ], low trace on edge

Fr. 2	Fr. 3	Fr. 4	Fr. 5
[ ] αι[ ] [ ]	[ ] [ ]	[ ] αν[ ]	[ ]
[ ] ιε[μ] [ ]	[ ] μου [ ]	[ ] κατα[ ]	πο [ ]
[ ] κολασαν[ ]	[ ] κον[ ]	[ ] κον[ ]	λεπ[ ]
[ ] ρταζουσ [ ]	[ ] εω[ ]	[ ]	[ ] ε[ ]
5 [ ] γιους [ ]	[ ] οι[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
[ ] ενο [ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
[ ] μ[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

Fr. 2 1 [ ], foot, gap, descending oblique joining upright at mid-height (ν?) [ ], low traces (foot of upright?) 2 [ ], upper right-hand arc [ ], left-hand oblique and apex of λ or μ 4 [ ], upright 5 [ ], top of δ, λ, (first half of) μ, followed by shallow upper arc and high horizontal 6 [ ], foot of curve (or descending oblique curved at foot) [ ], high dot 7 [ ], upright (?)

Fr. 3 1 [ ], traces compatible with low horizontal 2 [ ], foot of ascending oblique 5 [ ], right-hand part of top horizontal

Fr. 4 1 [ ], traces admitting long upright, as of ρ 3 [ ], lower part of the tail of α?

Fr. 5 1 [ ], lower curve 2 [ ], curved back (ε strongly suggested) 3 π [ ], its right-hand leg shorter than usual; if not π, γ joining upright or left-hand curve

Fr. 1

2 (Lemma, v. 36.) *ἐμπερημέν[η] : ἐμπερημένην R Σ Luc. : ἐμπερημένης Γ (rightly) : ἐμπερημένην V : ἐμπερημένης J Greg.* The papyrus preserves the correct spelling, *-ημεν-* without sigma, but it is not certain which of the two participle endings it will have had; it may have had *-ης*, if the first visible trace in 6 belongs to the sigma of *ἐμπερημένης*; see below 6 n.

3-6 carry the comments on 36, which refer to Aristophanes' handling of the figure of Kleon in *Equites*. Cross-references to other plays are common in the scholiastic tradition, and ancient commentaries are not an exception. Although no mention is made of any particular play in the scholia, it may be that *ἐν (τοῖς) Ἰππέυσι* was written at some point in the papyrus, in much the same way as in 2737.

3 *κακο[ ]*. Perhaps *κακό[φρωνος]* (Luppe), cf. Σ on *Eq.* 248: *τοῦτο δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ κακάφρων αὐτοῦ* (i.e. *Κλέωνος*). *κακο[λογεῖ]* is another possibility, but I think it less likely.

4-5 *Παφλαγόνα αὐτὸν [ - - - πα]φλάξεν*. Cf. Σ 34: *καὶ Παφλαγόνα παρὰ τὸ παφλάξεν τῆ φωνῆ*. It is likely that the wording of the commentary was not much different from that of the scholia, with a verb of saying after *αὐτόν*, such as *δομαίνει*, which is palaeographically possible (its first omicron suits the trace on the edge). Assuming a line of c. 40 letters, there would be more than enough room for e.g. *αὐτὸν ὀνομάζει παρὰ τὸ τῆ φωνῆ πα]φλάξεν*.

This etymology is also given in the scholion on *Eq.* 919 (919a Jones-Wilson), Eust. 360. 28, *et al.* Its occurrence in the commentary XXXV 2741 fr. 1B iii 19 f. (= Eup. Fr. 192. 135 f.) is noteworthy (common source?).

What follows should also refer to Kleon, adding something new to his picture. There is a remarkable resemblance to the beginning of one of the notes composing Σ<sup>8</sup> on 36 (36a Koster) *ἦν δὲ καὶ τὴν δὴν ἀργαλέος*. The trace before the break is not incompatible with kappa, and it may be that our commentary contained virtually the same text.

6 *ἐμπερημέν[η]ς*. This is the gloss for *ἐμπερημένης* in Σ<sup>9</sup> 36b. The distance between the first epsilon and the previous trace is larger than that normal between letters, equal to the width of one letter. If not accidental, I suppose this is a space left blank intentionally to distinguish the gloss from what preceded. It is not an unreasonable guess that the gloss followed the word it glossed; hence we may think that in the papyrus *ἐμπερημένης* originally stood before *ἐμπερημένης*. This can be supported by two facts: (i) the trace on the edge, that is the remnant of the last letter of the preceding word, allows and in fact suggests sigma; (ii) lemmata are customarily distinguished from the annotation by spacing. We could then restore 5-6 on the lines of *ἦν δὲ κ[αὶ τὴν δὴν ἀργαλέος. (vac.) ἐμπερημένης (vac.) ἐμπερημένης* [νη].

The insertion of the lemma which had already appeared above served to make the sequence more intelligible. This need also prompted the appearance of lemmata in lengthy marginalia, cf. McNamee, *op. cit.* 183.

7 [ ] *ον τοῦντινον*. 38 runs *δξει κάκιτον τοῦντινον βύρης σαπράς*. The first trace after the break suggests η, κ, or π; it does not seem to allow τ, i.e. *κάκις* [των]. It is tempting to take *τοῦντινον* as lemma, but there is no blank space before *τοῦντινον*, as might be expected if a new lemma were to begin. It may thus be that line 7 contains comment or paraphrase (*κακὸν τοῦντινον?*), which might continue the exposition in 3-6, or expound a new lemma now lost between 6 and 7. Alternatively, we could assume that the scribe was inconsistent in leaving spaces, and take *τοῦντινον* as lemma; and that it was preceded by *κάκις* [των], with τ in a form different from elsewhere (Luppe, who draws my attention to the variable *ductus* of other letters, see above intro. para. 2). If this holds, we may restore *βύρης* (palaeographically possible and not distinguished from the lemma in any way; note that scholia exist only for *βύρης σαπράς*).

8 [ ] μ<sup>ω</sup>. The letter on the edge is almost certainly omega; the raised letter should indicate a suspension of the same type as *παφλαγόνα* in l. 4. This [ωμω( )] apparently ends a comment on something in v. 38 or earlier. The surviving scholia provide no match, but clearly some form of *κοιμωθέν* would not be out of place, cf. Σ<sup>9</sup> 35. The scholia *vetera* note: *ὅτι βυρσώλην καὶ βυρσώλην γὰρ ὁ Κλέων*. I would thus suggest that the lost comment was on the lines of *ὡς βυρσώλην τὸν Κλέωνα (ὁ αὐτὸν) κοιμωθέν*.

8-10 In the text as preserved only lemmata occupy what follows [ ] μ<sup>ω</sup>. Perhaps the quotation went as far as l. 10, containing 39-41 in their entirety, without comments intervening. Otherwise the column must have been extremely wide, or the comments short. It is difficult to estimate the width more precisely, given the irregularity of the script; in any case we do not know whether lemmata projected into the left margin (*ekthesis*), as they often do, or whether blanks were left to separate individual trimeters.

(Lemma, v. 39.) *ἦθ' : εἰθ'* codd. A palaeographic confusion rather than an itacistic mistake.

9 (Lemma, v. 40.) The traces near the right edge do not seem to admit οἰ, the beginning of *οἶμοι*, which continues the Aristophanic text. It would thus be difficult to maintain that the traces do not belong with the exegesis, although there is nothing to indicate the beginning of a comment, like a blank space as in 6. The traces best suit the top of a triangular letter: α, δ, λ. Restore e.g. *δ[ημόν]* (Luppe).

10 (Lemma, v. 41.) *διετάρ[αι]*. I have restored so *εξεπλή gratia* with RVΓ. J Greg. St. Byz. wrongly have *διετάνευ*.

2-10 With the help of the scholia these lines may be reconstructed conjecturally as follows (I have incorporated several supplements suggested by Professor Luppe):

	φωνῆ]ν ἐμπερημέν[η]ς ὄσ. εἰς τὸ κρακτικὸν κοιμω(θεῖ)
	τῶ]ν Κλέωνα' κακό[φρωνος γὰρ ἦν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἰππεύ-
	σι] Παφλαγόνα) αὐτὸν ὀνομάζει παρὰ τὸ τῆ φωνῆ
5	πα]φλάξεν. ἦν δὲ κ[αὶ τὴν δὴν ἀργαλέος. ἐμπερημέ-
	νη]ς ἐμπερημένης] πῆρται γὰρ τὸ φωνή. δξει κά-
	κις] τον τοῦντινον βύρης σαπράς. ὡς βυρσώλην
	κ]οιμω(θεῖ). ἦθ' ἢ μαρὰ φ[άλλων' ἐχουσα τρυτάνην ἔγη
	βόει]ον δῆμόν. δ[ημόν] πρὸς τὸ δῆμον. τὸν δῆμον ἡμῶν
10	βοῦ] λεται διετάρ[αι].

Fr. 2

I cannot associate what survives with anything in *Vespa*. Luppe suggests a possible reference to Aristophanes' troubles (κόλασαν[ , l. 3) in connection with staging the *Babylonians* in the presence of the Athenian allies (τῶν συμμάχων[ , l. 2) at the City Dionysia (ἐορτάζουσι[ , l. 4) in 426.

Fr. 5

<sup>3</sup> If π is correctly read, λεπ[ά, which occurs at V. 105, is possible. But the other surviving letters fit no part of the surrounding text.

N. GONIS

## 4510–4521. ARISTOPHANES

This part contains all the remaining manuscripts of extant comedies of Aristophanes that have been identified in the collection of the Egypt Exploration Society. Six come from rolls, six from codices (one of them parchment). Most of them are to date the only ancient witnesses to the part of the plays they preserve. Published papyri of Aristophanes are listed by P. Mertens in M. S. Funghi (ed.), *ΟΔΟΙ ΔΙΖΗΣΙΟΣ. Le vie della ricerca* (1996) 335–43; add now PDuke inv. 643 (ed. L. P. Smith, *APF* 42 (1996) 155 ff.; cf. W. Luppe, *APF* 43 (1997) 7 f.).

It has often been noticed that the majority of the papyri of Aristophanes derive from the Byzantine period. This group presents six pieces from the fourth, fifth and/or the sixth century, but the other six come from the second and third centuries AD. Insomuch as only five Aristophanic papyri from before the fourth century have been published hitherto, these figures may appear remarkable, but they are in line with the earlier known data concerning Oxyrhynchus: excluding commentaries, Mertens lists four Oxyrhynchite papyri from no later than the third century, and five from the fifth century.

*Text.* These papyri offer a number of interesting readings.

(i) Among readings which are new, a few confirm modern conjectures.

*Achamenses* 60 πρυτα]νευητ[ε **4510** with Meineke (but probably false)  
171 διοση]μ[ι]α ἴ[τι] **4510** with Elmsley  
298 μο]ι εν **4510** with Hermann  
323 τ αρα **4510** with Elmsley  
325 δηξομ' αρ' υμας **4510** with Bentley  
*Aves* 1328 βραδυς ε[στι] τις **4515** with Bentley  
1669 εις **4516** with van Leeuwen  
φρατερας **4516** with Dindorf  
1671 αικειαν **4516** with Lenting  
1672 καταστηρας **4516** with Hirschig

Some others would at least merit consideration.

*Vespa* 1081 ξυν δαρει **4513**  
1102 πολλαχη **4513**

*Pax* 1240 τι δ' αλλ. [ **4514**  
*Aves* 1665 εγγυτατα **4516**  
*Plutus* 641 αρα πραττει[ται/-ε **4520**

The remainder can be dismissed as corruptions or careless slips (the second reading is that generally accepted by editors).

*Achamenses* 330 ερξας **4510**: εἰρξας  
332 θ' **4510**: δ'  
*Vespa* 1078 ωφελησαν]τες **4513**: ὠφελῆσαν εν  
1081 ξυ[νδραμοντ]ες **4513**: ἐκδραμόντες  
1083 παν **4513**: παρ'  
1086 μ]αχεσα[εθαι **4513**: μάχεσθαι  
1095 ]εν μελλει[ **4513**: εἰ λέξειεν ἐμέλλομεν

*Pax* 1238 ιθι νυν **4514**: ἴθι δη  
*Aves* 1327 τουτω]ν **4515**: τοῦτον  
*Ranae* 604 δευον **4517**: δεῖν  
642 ημας **4517**: νό  
*Plutus* 648 om. **4520**

967 παρα]νομα φιλτατε **4521**: παράνομ' ὦ φίλτατε  
(for 715 and the extra line between 967–9 see notes *ad loc.*).

(ii) More often, the agreement of the papyri with the medieval tradition, or part of it, may be significant. Thus in a number of places they confirm the antiquity of a number of disputed readings. This of course does not suffice to turn the scales in favour of the transmitted readings; once again we see that some degree of corruption must be posited early in the transmission of the text. As regards the issue of the *Variationsfreiheit*, the new evidence shows it to be present in the Roman period.

*Achamenses* 291 επειτα **4510**: εἶτα edd.  
293 ουκ ιστε **4510**: ἠκούσατ' edd.  
301 κατατεμω **4510**: τεμῶ edd.  
302 ποτ' ες **4510**: πότ' sive ἐς del. edd.  
*Pax* 1201 πεντηκοντα δραχμω]ν εμπολω **4514**: πεντήκοντα  
δραχμῶν susp. edd.  
1240 τι δ' **4514**: τί edd.  
*Aves* 1325 πτερων **4515**: πτερύγων edd.  
1358 γα[ **4515**: τᾶρα edd.  
*Ranae* 592 lacunam post ἀνανεάζειν fortasse habet **4517**  
597 'εσαι om. **4517**  
645 ου μα Δι': ουδ' εμοι δοκεις **4517**: alii alia

In a few cases the reading of the papyrus recurs not in the earlier manuscripts but in some of the *recentiores*. This tends to confirm that such late readings, right or wrong, should not automatically be regarded as Byzantine conjectures, but may represent an older tradition of which, by accident, we have no earlier evidence.

<i>Vespaie</i>	108 ν[ποπεπλαμενος 4512 with J: ἀναπεπλαμένος rell. 1085 εωσα[μεσθα 4513 with An. Ox. I 446.4–5 (–μεθα): ἀπεωσάμεσθα I <sup>1</sup> J: ἔπανσάμεσθα R: ἔωζόμεσθα VΓ <sup>2</sup>
<i>Aves</i>	1670 τουτ' 4516 with E; δῆτ' IΥq: δῆτα τ' RVA
<i>Plutus</i>	712 το κ[ιβωστ]ι[ο]ν 4520 with O <sub>4</sub> W <sub>4</sub> : τό γε κιβώτιον rell.

In places where the medieval tradition is divided the new texts predictably do not side systematically with any particular manuscript or family. In any case, each Aristophanic play has a different textual tradition, and should be treated separately from the rest. Accordingly, statistical data of coincidences with this or that branch of the tradition would be of no use. An evaluation of the textual importance of each papyrus can be found in the individual introductions. A few more general issues will be addressed here.

The first assessment of the papyri of Aristophanes was attempted by Grenfell at a time when only twelve papyri of nine known comedies had been published: 'On the whole the papyri of Aristophanes are not very accurate and are more remarkable for their agreements with the ordinary text where the correctness of it has been suspected than for new readings. ... Quite a number of small corrections ... mainly on metrical grounds, are confirmed' (*JHS* 39 (1919) 22). Eighty years later, and with the number of Aristophanes papyri increased fourfold, the gist of Grenfell's conclusions does not require essential alteration. The papyri of Aristophanes have not yielded impressive returns in terms of new readings.

In what was the first comprehensive investigation of the bearing of the papyri on the Aristophanic text Pasquali argued that in the fifth century the number of the variants began to decrease, but he did not doubt that a part of them goes back to the period before the first critical edition of Aristophanes (see *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo* (1952<sup>2</sup>) 199). Of the papyri available to Pasquali all but two dated from the fifth century or later. In the light of the publication of more papyri from earlier centuries, his views need to be modified. The fifth century can no longer be considered as a watershed in the history of the text of Aristophanes: second century papyri attest no more variants than Byzantine papyri. If a reduction of the number of variants in circulation started at a certain stage, this cannot have taken place later than the first century AD.

The second of Pasquali's statements is not incompatible with a hypothesis recently formulated by Dover: 'one, and only one, copy of *Frogs* (containing major errors) was available to the first generation of scholars at Alexandria ... all subsequent copies of the play whatsoever were exclusively derived from that copy' (*Aristophanes Frogs* (1993) 86). So far as I am aware, this theory has not been tested for other plays, but, if correct, its repercussions for Aristophanic textual criticism are obvious. The new evidence does not invalidate Dover's hypothesis; in fact, if the lyric parts suspected of corruption are corrupt, his theory is reinforced.

There is no comprehensive history of the text of Aristophanes, but individual plays have been served well by the editions that have appeared over the last three decades

(cited below in the introductions to the editions of the papyri of each play). With regard to general issues the most useful contributions are by T. Gelzer, *RE* Suppl. XII (1970) 1548 ff., and Dover, *Text*. A brief summary of earlier views on the history of the text and the question of the archetype is given in G. B. Alberti, *Problemi di critica testuale* (1979) 20 f. (the chapter on Aristophanes in H. Hunger (ed.), *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung I* (1961) is now out of date). I should also mention M. Pohlenz, *NAWG* (1952) 95 ff., for some interesting views on the early history of the text, and, for the Triklinian recension, N. G. Wilson, *CQNS* 12 (1962) 32 ff.

In the introduction to each play I indicate the sources from which the readings of the medieval manuscripts are taken. I have myself collated R and V from the facsimiles, and L from the original.

*Colometry*. Four of the papyri (4510, 4513, 4516, 4517) offer lyric parts. It comes as no surprise that their colometry, despite occasional deviations, is virtually identical with that transmitted by the medieval manuscripts, and accords with the metrical analyses found in the *scholia vetera*. (4513 is a case apart; the eccentric line-division does not seem to have its origin in any metrical principles, but probably in a certain view about the general *mise en page*.) This has been repeatedly observed with regard to the papyri of Aristophanes, see most recently Dover, *Aristophanes Frogs* 90, and L. P. E. Parker, *The Songs of Aristophanes* (1997) 98. It is an easy assumption that there has been only one colometry for the lyrics of Aristophanes from Roman times onwards,<sup>1</sup> that customarily attributed to Heliodorus (cf. below 4510 introd.). But, as Parker has pointed out, it is perhaps simplistic to maintain that the Alexandrians 'worked on a sound text, that their colometry was reverently preserved for the rest of antiquity, to be described by Heliodorus, and to survive, in however mutilated a form, in the papyri and medieval MSS' (op. cit. 106).

*Annotation*. 4510, 4514, 4519, 4520, and 4521 bear marginalia, in all cases but one brief. They mostly contain glossographic and factual information. Of special significance are 4510 and 4521, which provide the earliest examples of annotated papyri of Aristophanes (second century). 4521 makes it possible to trace affinities between these marginalia and the medieval scholia back to the second century AD; up until now, discussion has focused on texts from the fourth century onwards, cf. G. Zuntz, *Die Aristophanes-Scholien der Papyri* (1975<sup>2</sup>) 28 f. On Aristophanic exegesis in the papyri one may also consult the brief account by H. Maehler in *Enbetiens Hardt* 40 (1994) 124 ff.

I am grateful to Dr. R. A. Coles, Prof. E. W. Handley, Dr. J. R. Rea, Mr. N. G. Wilson, and especially Prof. P. J. Parsons, my supervisor, for advice and criticism.

<sup>1</sup> It has been argued that this is also the case with the tragedians, see T. Fleming, E. C. Kopff, *SIFC* 85 (1992) 760, echoing G. Zuntz, *An Inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides* (1975) 31 ff. and W. S. Barrett, *Euripides Hippolytos* (1964) 84 ff. However, studies of the issue in two plays of Euripides, J. M. Bremer, D. J. Mastronarde, *The Textual Tradition of Euripides' Phoinissai* (1982) 151 ff., and J. Diggle, *The Textual Tradition of Euripides' Orestes* (1991) 131 ff., have shown a lack of unanimity in some parts of the tradition.

In addition to the usual abbreviations, the following shortened references have been used:

Dover, *Text*=K. J. Dover, 'Explorations in the History of the Text of Aristophanes', *The Greeks and their Legacy* (1988) 223 ff.

GBEBP=G. Cavallo, H. Machler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period*=BICS Suppl. 47 (1987)

GLH=C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands 350 B.C.-A.D. 400* (1956)

GMAW<sup>2</sup>=E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (2nd edition revised and enlarged. Edited by P. J. Parsons.)=BICS Suppl. 46 (1987)

McNamee, MC=K. McNamee, *Marginalia and Commentaries in Greek Literary Papyri* (Diss. Duke Univ. 1977)

Turner, *Typology*=E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (1977)

**4510.** ARISTOPHANES, *ACHARNENSES* 55-60, 165-80, 234-40, 278-83, 291-308, 316-35, 345-7, 380-5, 417-9, 506-9, 539-42, 655-8, 695-704, 822-5

88/332

Fr. 7.9.4 × 9.4 cm

Second century

Twenty three fragments of a roll brought together on the basis of the handwriting. Most of them can be identified as containing portions of the *Acharnenses*; a few scraps (fr. 16-23) remain unplaced, and some may not belong to the same manuscript. The extant upper margin measures 1.4 cm in fr. 10; fr. 7 and 12 preserve a lower margin of 1.4 cm. Of the intercolumnium 0.8 cm survives in fr. 5. The writing is along the fibres; there are scanty ink traces on the backs of one or two pieces, not certainly writing.

The reconstruction of the original dimensions of the roll is not easy. 291 (probably), 417, 821 (possibly) come from column tops; 335, 542, 704 (possibly) are at column feet. The 45 lines between 291 (fr. 6) and 335 (fr. 7) could have been contained in (i) 1 column or (ii) 2 columns of 22/23 lines. 417 (fr. 10) to 542 (fr. 12) is 126 verses of modern text (but note that 457 is *extra metrum* and 490-5 is lyric); one may think of 3 columns of 42 verses, but also 5 × 24/25 or 6 × 21. 542 (fr. 12) to 704 (fr. 14) has too many uncertainties over lyric to be useful.

The text is written in a small rounded hand, neat, but not properly formal. Only the stems of  $\phi$  and  $\psi$  violate the overall bilinear impression. Finials (most frequently blobs, but also left-facing serifs and right-facing hooks) are attached to the feet and tops of most uprights; fine horizontals contrast with thickish uprights and obliques. Notable letter-forms include:  $\epsilon$  and  $c$  with their top curves often added separately, the latter also tending to fall over;  $v$  with a sometimes concave stem;  $\psi$  with its arms forming a large V. This kind of hand is usually assigned to the second century. It shares many common features with PSI IX 1091 (Norsa, *Scriptura letteraria* Tav. 19c), assigned to the i/ii century, but the latter has a more formal appearance and is probably earlier than **4510**. Also comparable are XXIV **2388** (ii), and PBodmer XXVII (ii).

Diacritical marks have been used fairly frequently, and are probably the responsibility of the scribe of the main text. There is a trace of a *paragraphos* (384-5) and a *dicolon* (346), and we may suppose that they were regularly used for signalling speaker changes (the *paragraphos* in 384-5 separates dialogue from lyric); in all probability there is also a *nota personae* in 385. Elision is marked by apostrophes six times (296, 302, 325, 332, 333, 335), but is made tacitly twice (323, 331), while in two other cases (292, 325) it is uncertain whether it was marked or not. Prodelision (59, 171, 330) is effected, but not signalled. A rough breathing is used to distinguish the relative pronoun  $\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  from the word-ending  $\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  which precedes (327). *Diaereses* (inorganic) often stand over initial  $\iota$  and  $\upsilon$ . Iota adscript is twice added in the dative singular (317, 704), and omitted twice (170 and 172, both times in the same word and not at word-end). There are scanty remains of cursive writing, apparently annotation, in top and right-hand margins. Since no side margins survive in most fragments, it is impossible to guess the extent of the annotation.

This is the oldest manuscript of the play to appear. The text offered is interesting. It is free from certain errors present in all later mss., substantiates some modern corrections (171, 298, 323, 325), but also yields three new variants which cannot be upheld (60, 330, 332). As regards some notoriously suspect readings (all in lyric passages), it confirms the antiquity of the transmitted text. This is true of the Berlin codex too, but **4510** is at least three centuries earlier. Such an agreement in error may be thought to imply that the second century text of the play did not essentially diverge from that of the later mss. in any of these disputed points. When the text in its corrupt form replaced the original in all papyri circulating in the first centuries AD cannot be ascertained. I am not sure how much weight can be attached to the metrical scholion on 285 ff., according to which the chorus responds to Dikaiopolis with a series of paeonic cola. In the text transmitted by this papyrus, as well as the medieval mss., paeonic cola are not always recognisable, and some passages are plainly unmetrical. It might be thought that the exemplar which served as a basis for the scholion was free of error. The metrical analyses preserved in the scholia are commonly believed to go back to Heliodorus, a metrician of the early Imperial age; could it be that Heliodorus used a copy with a text more or less different from the present? But the scholion contains no information about its source; and, as Parker has recently argued, 'it would be wrong to assume that all the  $\Sigma$  *vet.* were compiled from the work of a single metrician' (*The Songs of Aristophanes* 97).

Frs. 5, 6, 8 and 14 preserve lyric parts. Only the middle parts of the verses survive, but, if my reconstructions hold, it may be urged that the arrangement of the verses in the papyrus generally tallies with the metrical analyses of the scholia, R and most of the more recent mss. Spacing suggests that indentation (at varying levels) was employed.

The only textual overlap with a previously published papyrus is between fr. 15 and BKT IX 105; there are no points of divergence.

An evaluation of the history of the text of the play is given by E. Cary in *HSCP* 18 (1907) 157 ff. [=Cary]. Elliott in his edition offers a detailed report of mss. readings (except for L and Vv17, which became known only later). I have often made use of Cary's and Sommerstein's *sigla* denoting hyparchetypes; *a*, *c*, *q*, *j*, and *e* stand for the hyparchetypes of ATE, CVp3, BVp2HLVv17, *qc* and the agreement of Γ<sup>2</sup>E<sup>2</sup> respectively.

## Fr. 1

55 περι]ψ[ε]ςθ[ε  
 τη]ν εκκ[λησιαν  
 ημι]ν ηθε]λε  
 κρε]μα]σαι τας ας[πιδας  
 Απολ]λω γω με]ν  
 60 πρυτα]νευη]τ[ε

58 τας ας[πιδας: so codd.: τὴν ἀσπίδα *Suda* (κ 371).

60 πρυτα]νευη]τ[ε: πρυτανεύητε codd. Meineke printed πρυτανεύητε, but there is no way of telling whether this is an emendation or simply a 'clerical error' (Rogers), since there is no record of this change in his *adnotatio critica*. Whichever the case, πρυτανεύητε (aorist) is preferable, as Dikaiopolis seems to refer to an action due to take place at that very moment, and not repeatedly (present), whenever an assembly is held. Cf. also Müller, who defends the aorist on the strength of *Av.* 440 and *Thesm.* 269.

## Fr. 2 + 3

165 ]κα [β]αλ[ειτε  
 ]μη[ πρ]οε]ι  
 ταυ]τῖ περιε]ιδεθ  
 τ]ηι πατρ]ιδι  
 α]παγορ]ε]ν  
 170 ]Θραξ]ι π[ε]ρι  
 διοση]μ[ι]α ε]τι  
 Θρ]ακα]ς  
 πρ]υτ[ανεις λυο]υσι τ]ην  
 μυττω]πον ος]ου

175 Λακεδαιμον]ος γαρ Α[μφιθεος  
 μηπ]ω γε]  
 εκ]φν]γειν  
 δευ]ρο]  
 ωςφ]ρ. ]ντο  
 180 γ]ερ]ουτες

165 ]κα [β]αλ[ειτε: οὐ καταβαλεῖτε codd. plerique: οὐκ ἀποβαλεῖτε *a*. The traces after the first alpha (a high horizontal with a medial trace below, faintly suggesting an upright) suit either tau or pi. καταβαλεῖτε is supported by *Pax* 1124, and gives better sense (Müller). I suppose that οὐκ ἀποβαλεῖτε derived from the original οὐ καταβαλεῖτε by a graphic confusion in the minuscule, and thus think it unlikely that the papyrus had ἀποβαλεῖτε.

167 περιε]ιδεθ': so codd. plerique: περι ἴδεθ' R.

171 διοση]μ[ι]α ε]τι: διοσημῖ ἐστι codd. plerique (-ση- all): διοσημία ἐστὶ *Suda* (δ 1205). The papyrus confirms Elmsley's correction, which is required by usage, cf. Kühner-Blass, *Grammatik* I 243 (cf. also *Pax* 873, *Av.* 639, etc.).

178 δευ]ρο]: δευρό σοι R: σοι μὲν δευρο (στ -ρ') *q*. Spacing suggests that the papyrus had the same reading as R, which is correct. The corruption that we find in *ac* occurred by transposition, and Triklinios tried to cure it by changing word-order.

179 ωςφ]ρ. ]ντο: ἀσφρόντο codd.: ἀσφρώντο Hesychius. What is visible in the papyrus, the lower part of a circle, allows ]ρω[, as well as ]ρο]. ἀσφράσθαι is attested in texts of the imperial period, cf. Schmid, *Atticismus* II 32, but it cannot have been used by Aristophanes. (Athenaeus transmits it in Antiph. fr. 145.6 (emended by Elmsley), and Priscian in Eupol. fr. 7.)

## Fr. 4

ζητ]ειν]  
 235 ]γην]  
 β]αλλ[ων  
 ] [  
 ηκο]υσα]τε  
 αυτο]ς εστ]ιν  
 240 ]θυς]ων

237 Mss. give εὐφημέτε εὐφημέτε, usually in esthesis. Spacing suggests that if the double εὐφημέτε was centred on 236, it would have started after the right-hand break.

## Fr. 5

] . . . ν α . . . [   
 ] κρεμῆσεται: ε[   
 280 ] το εστιν ουτος [   
 ] λεβαλλεβαλλε [   
 ] μιaron [   
 ] . . . . . [

εωθεν ειρηνης ροφησεις τρυβλι]ον   
 η δ ασπις εν τωι φεβαλωι κρεμῆσεται   
 ουτος αυ]τος εστιν ουτος   
 βαλλε β]αλλε βαλλε βαλλε   
 παιε παιε το]ν μιaron   
 ου βαλειε ου β]αλειε

*Colometry.* (Here as elsewhere the articulated transcript aims at presenting an approximate picture of the original layout of the left-hand part of the column, as well as the colon divisions. The supplements derive from Coulon.) In 280–3 the division of the papyrus is identical with that of R. No ancient metrical scholia survive at this point.

278 mrg. What remains may be part of a comment on τρύβλιον, which is glossed in the various lexica and the scholia—but not in the scholia on 278. However, none of the known glosses on τρύβλιον begins with α. The traces could be reconciled with ἀρτις, which (in the form ἀντι τοῦ, abbreviated or not) often introduces glosses, cf. 4521 694 n. But I would not exclude that this continues a note that started in the previous line; note that in the Byzantine scholia κραπάλη in 277 is annotated.

279 κρεμῆσεται: so codd. plerique: κρεμασθήσεται R, a grammatical modernisation, which is also unmetrical.

279 mrg. The marginal note may explain φεβαλω, which is glossed in the commentary VI 856 78 (on *Ach.* 668), the scholia, and the lexica. Σ *vet.* on 668 (and *Suda* [φ 240]) give φεβαλω γὰρ οἰ σπινθήρες. It might be that the initial/sigma of the note was the first letter of σπινθήρι (or σπινθήρι: glosses are often in the nominative). However, the sense here is figurative, and the literal meaning would not be of much help.

281 β]αλλε. The dotted λ seems to have been crossed out by a cancelling stroke. If a correction was made, I cannot see how it could be justified, as the two other imperatives that follow have kept their second lambdas. A dot distinguishable below is probably stray ink.

## Fr. 6

] . [   
 ] α . ν [   
 ]   
 291 ] σεπει . [   
 ] . π . βλε [   
 ] ουκιετ [   
 ] εναπ [   
 295 ] . λιθο [   
 ] υσητ' α [   
 ] . μα [   
 ] ι . λ . [   
 ] μεμε . ηκας [

σπειεαμενο]ς επειτα [δυνασαι   
 νυν προς ε]μ αποβλεπ[ειν   
 αντι δ' ων εσπειεαμη] ουκ ιετ[ε   
 ου γ ακουε ]μ εν απο]λει κατα   
 σε χωσομεν το]ις λιθοι]ς   
 μηδαμωε πριν αν γ' ακο]υσητ' α [λλ'   
 ουκ ανασχη]ομαι [μηδε   
 λεγε μο]ι ευ λογ]ον   
 ω]ς μεμειενηκα σε [Κλεω

300 ] σεπμαλλον[   
 ] . . `τα´ . εμ . τ . . ε [   
 ] π . τ´ εκκαττυ [   
 ] . ντοςουκ [   
 ] ωσιναλλ [   
 305 ] κω . ακεκ [   
 ] ] ωνακο [   
 ] . ι . ν [ ] . [   
 ] . [ ] ε . [

νο]ς ετι μαλλον [ον ε   
 γω] κατατεμω τοις]ω ιππευ   
 ει] ποτ´ εε καττυ]ματα   
 ου δ´ εγω λογουε λε]γοτος ουκ [   
 οστιε εσπειεω Λακ]ωσιω αλλα [   
 ωγαθοι τους μεν Λα]κωνας εκ]ποδων   
 των δ´ εμων σπονδ]ων ακο]υσατ´   
 πως δε γ´ αν καλωε λεγ]οις αν [ει]π[ερα   
 οιωι ουτε βωμωο ου]τ[ε πι]ετ[ει

mrg. There does not seem to be any (main) text written above 291, since, however colometrised, some letters from 290 would have been present. I suppose the notes were written in the top margin. Their import escapes me.

291 *επειτα*: so codd. plerique: *εἶτα q. εἴπειτα* is metrically problematic; *εἴπειτα* could well replace *εἶτα*, especially in post-classical Greek. *εἶτα* looks like the result of a Byzantine emendation (Cary 182).

291–2 Σ 284a speaks of a sequence of paeonic cola. Indeed, correspondence with the antode, as well as consistency in the chorus' practice of replying to Dikaiopolis in the same metrical scheme, requires a sequence of four cretics or paeons. The text of the antistrophic 340 is unassailable: *ὡς τὸδε τὸ λαρκίδιον οὐ προδύει ποτέ* (2p2cr). But in mss. other than *q* the scansion of 291–2 causes difficulties. In 292 the presence of *νῦν* in the mss. (it is omitted in *q* for purposes of restoring the metre) disturbs the metre. *νῦν* is also contextually unnecessary (so also Σ *vet.* on 300); it has been thought to be an early interpolation, due to someone who took *εἴπειτα* (or *εἶτα*) as temporal. If we read *εἶτα* and remove *νῦν*, the metrical correspondence is restored. Although *νῦν* does not survive in our fragment, considerations of space suggest that it was present in the papyrus. The last sigma of *σπειεαμενος* is vertically aligned with the mu of *εμ*. R and most other mss. divide after *δυνασαι*, an attempt to match word- with colon-end. If this division was followed in the papyrus, and assuming that 291 and 292 were aligned, the spacing works out most satisfactorily if 292 started with *νῦν*. With a division after *δυνα* there is no space for *νῦν*, but then the mu of *εμ* would have appeared further to the left.

293 *ουκ ιετ[ε]*: so AΓ: *ουκ ιεατ´* R: *ουκ ιεατ´* Γ<sup>8</sup>Ec: *ουκ ιερε γ´ q*. The papyrus shows that *ιερε* was current in the Roman period. The reading of AΓ gives good sense, but stands in hiatus with the following *αλλ'*; in AΓ 293 runs *αντι δ' αν εσπειεαμη ουκ ιερε. αλλ' ακουσατε*. The other variants cure the anomaly; but *ιεατ´* is not a possible form, at least in Attic, and in *ιερε τ´* the particle makes no sense. *ιερε γ´* has met with some approval, cf. B. Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen zur Form und dramatischen Technik der aristophanischen Komödien* i (1984) 39 f. Of course the last two readings may themselves be conjectures to avoid the hiatus (Cary 182; Coulon, *Essai sur la méthode de la critique conjecturale appliquée au texte d'Aristophane* (1933) 48), but it would be hazardous to rule out the possibility that they are substantive variants. Most editors have adopted more drastic emendations; the most important are Kock's *ηκούσατ´* and Hamaker's *ἀκούσατ´*. W. G. Clark, *J. Phil.* 18 (1880) 12 tried to solve the problem by articulating *ουκ ιερε'* (question); this use of the plural verbal adjective in an impersonal construction is attested in Aristophanes, cf. *Mu.* 727 *ὄ μάλθακιερέ' ἀλλὰ περικαλυπτεά* (also *Ach.* 394, *Lys.* 122, and elsewhere), but the question *ουκ ιερε'* seems contextually less appropriate than the statement *ουκ ιερε*. Professor Handley suggests reading *...ουκ ιερε' τ'αλλ' ακουσατε*. 'R, with its extra α, perhaps incorporates a clarification of *ΙCΤΕΤΑΛΛΑΚΟΥCΑΤΕ*, or it is just a confusion; otherwise the τ' is dropped [in AΓ]; read as if τ(ε) [in Γ<sup>8</sup>Ec]; read as γ(ε) [in q].

294 *ἀκούσομεν* codd. plerique: *ἀκούομαι* B: *ἀκούομαι q*. Editors print Elmsley's *ἀκούομεν*. The majority reading is unmetrical, assuming that we need to restore five cretics, and also contrary to common usage, as



deliberative questions can only be expressed by the subjunctive. The other two readings are metrical emendations (Cary 182).

298  $\mu\omicron\iota$ : *cv*: *cú* *μοι* R: *cú* *om. ac*:  $\delta\eta$  *cú* *g*. The papyrus has the correct word order, as restored by Hermann, *De Metris* 191. The reading of *g* is a metrical restoration (Cary 181).

299 *μεμεισχηκα*: I. *μεμίσχηκα*. A common phonetic spelling.

301–2 (301) *κατατεμω*: so codd. S<sup>1</sup> (κ 817 and 1129) *S*<sup>REF</sup>.

*τοις*[: *τοιςιν* codd. plerique: *τοις gS*. *τοις* has been considered as a metrical correction (Cary 182).

(302) *ποτ'*: so codd. plerique: *ποτε g* (*πó*– B): *om. S*. The reading of *g* is again a metrical change (Cary 182).

*ες*: so codd. plerique: *om. g*. The omission was probably made for metrical purposes.

Ms. other than *g* read 300–2 as follows: (...) *δν* *ἐγώ* | *κατατεμῶ* *τοιςιν* *ἵππεθ* | *ει ποτ'* *ἐς* *καττύματα*. This is unmetrical, although the sense is clear. *ἐγώ*, *κατατεμῶ*, *τοιςιν*, *ποτ'* and *ἐς* have been much disputed, but none of the emendations proposed is entirely satisfactory (the most recent discussions are by Zimmermann, *op. cit.* 40, and Parker 130 ff.). The papyrus shows that the main elements of the transmitted text were already in place in the second century. It attests *κατατεμῶ*, *τοις* or *τοιςιν*, and *ποτ'* *ἐς*; it may or may not have had *ἐγώ*: the spacing is indecisive, but since *ἐγώ* is transmitted by all mss., with which the papyrus shares all the questionable readings, I see no reason why its presence here should be precluded.

308 (*οὔτε βωμῶς*) *οὐ* | *τ[ε π]ι[ε]ρ[ι]:* so codd. plerique: *οὔτε π[ί]στις οὔτε βωμῶς a*.

## Fr. 7

] . [ . . . ] [
   
 τ]ωι πλθθ[ει
   
 ]κεφαλην[
   
 ]λιθων ω δ[ημοται
   
 320 ]τουτον ες φοι[νικιδα
   
 θυμα]λωση επεζεσεν[
   
 ε]τεον ωχαρνη[ιδαι
   
 δει]να τ αρα πεισομαι
   
 μ]ηδαμωσ ωχαρνικο[ι
   
 325 ]δηξομ' αρ ὑμας εγω
   
 τ]ων φιλων τους φιλ[τατους
   
 ομηρ]ουσ ἔνσ απο[ε]φασ[ω] λα[βων
   
 το]υτ' απ[ει]λει τουπος α[νδρες
   
 Αχαρν]ικοισιν ημιν μων εχε[ι
   
 330 παροντ]ων ενδον ερξας η πι[
   
 ]βο[υ]λεσθ εγω γαρ τουτονι δ[ιαφθερω
   
 ]θ' ὑμων τ[αχ' ο]στις ανθρακω[ν
   
 απω]λομεσθ' [ ο λαρ]κος δημοστη[ε
   
 δ]ρασης ο [με]λ[λ]εισ μηδαμω[ε
   
 335 αποκ]τενω κεκ[ρα]χθ' εγω γαρ ου[κ
   
 (foot)

316 The traces are too exiguous to allow a match with the received text.

318 *κεφαλων*: so codd. Earlier editors felt uneasy with the 'dactyl' in the fifth foot of the trochaic tetrameter, and regarded the text as corrupt. But this metrical phenomenon is not unparalleled (but the secure parallels are very few), as was pointed out first by U. v. Wilamowitz, *Isyllus von Epidaurus* 7 ff. On the issue see E. W. Handley, *Dyskolos* 71 (with bibliography); MacDowell on *Wasps* 407, 496; Sandbach on *M. Samia* 731; M. L. West, *Greek Metre* 92.

319 *ω*: so codd.: *εic Suda* (κ 682, φ 788).

320 *ες*: so codd.: *εic Suda* (ibid.). The agreement between all representatives of the tradition both here and in 302 may suggest that *ες* was the commonest reading in antiquity. Modern views recommend the use of *εic*, except if *ες* is metrically required (4516 1669 n.). Elmsley and most subsequent editors read *εc*.

321 *επεζεσεν*: so codd. all.: *επέζεσεν ΓΕVρ3*: *επέζησεν g*. *επέζεσεν* and *επέζησεν* are wrong and apparently derivative.

323 τ αρα: γ' ἄρα codd. plerique: χ' ἄρα AE<sup>1</sup> wrongly (apparently γ misread as χ). The papyrus seems to substantiate Elmsley's emendation to τᾶρα (τοι ἄρα), which has been adopted by most editors. J. C. B. Lowe, *Glotia* 51 (1973) 34 ff., esp. 36 and 40 ff., defended the mss. reading, pointing out that γ' ἄρα is exclamatory, and contextually more appropriate than τᾶρα. The majority of the manuscripts offer gamma instead of tau not only here, but also in most other emended passages. Tau and gamma could be easily confused in the majuscule. There are two more papyri bearing text emended by Elmsley on the same grounds: BKT V.2 18, offering γ' ἀρ[ι] at *Ran.* 252, where the mss. give γάρ (R) or γ' ἄρα (AK) or τᾶρα (V), and 4515, with *Av.* 1358. This papyrus attests that the confusion had already started in antiquity.

The scribe wrote no elision mark. I would think that the omission is accidental rather than an indication that ταρα was taken to be a case of crasis.

325 *δηξομ' αρ ὑμας*: *δηξομαι ἄρ' ὑμας Vb1*: *δηξομαι γάρ ὑμας ad(γ)*: *δηξομαι γ' ἄρ' ὑμας εφ*: *δειξομ' ὑμας ἄρ' R*. The papyrus presents essentially the correct reading, which was first restored by Bentley. In comparison with the other mss. the reading of *Vb1* is the closest to the truth, but is probably a conjecture. (*Vb1* is a copy of *Γ*, which has *δηξομαι γάρ*. *Vb1*'s reading cannot be due to a mere omission of γ'; some of *Vb1*'s points of divergence from *Γ* are independent conjectures.) The papyrus writes an elision mark, implying *δηξομ' ἄρ'*. Most editors print Dindorf's *δηξομᾶρ*, a crasis, wrongly as it seems, for we have an elision, cf. Kühner-Blass, *Grammatik* I 237 f., West, *Greek Metre* 10.

329 *ημω*: so codd. plerique: *ὑμῶν E*: *ὑμῶν Ald.* E and Ald. are wrong.

330 *ερξας*: *εῤξας j*: *εῤξας codd. rel.* S *S* edd. It is unlikely that the reading offered by the papyrus is genuine. *εῤξας* is an epic-ionic form, and not one that Aristophanes would have used. If it is not a mere slip, it might be taken to reflect the archaistic tendencies of the scribe (or his knowledge of Homer).

332 θ': δ' codd. The new reading is probably inferior to that already known. Although there are examples of single *τε* connecting sentences, see J. D. Denniston, *Greek Particles*<sup>2</sup> 497 ff., δέ is better represented in this position as a connective, and is also supported by *Lys.* 1114. Of course, *τε* is frequently found as a *varia lectio* for δέ (and vice-versa) in the manuscripts. Compare *Ach.* 814, where the Berlin codex offers τὸθ', while the tradition unanimously has τὸ δ'; also *E. Or.* 1627, where one papyrus and several *recensiones* give δ' instead of (the correct) θ' transmitted by all the *vetustiores*. (I do not think that this is a case of the not particularly frequent phenomenon of θ written in place of δ; for the interchange in Egyptian Greek see Gignac, *Grammatik* i 97.)

333 *απω]λομεσθ'*: so codd. plerique: *ἀπολόμεθ' R*: *ἀπολόμεσθ' g*. The minority readings, whether poetic forms or misspellings, are unmetrical.

## Fr. 8

344 ] . [
   
 345 ]φασω[
   
 ] . c [
   
 αλλα μη μοι προ]φασω
   
 αλλα καταθου το βελ]οc



intentional, it may be that the wider space served to distinguish the antode from the antepirrhema, or to accommodate a *paragraphe*; but I have found no parallels for this.

## Fr. 15

x                    ]ν.[  
 y                    ].τo[  
                   a]ρχα τ[ων  
                   με]γαρ[ιεις  
 Δικαιοπολ]ι Δικ[αιοπολι  
                   ]φαι[νων  
 825            κυκοφ]αντα[ς

x and y cannot be placed in 819–20. The sequence of letters in y could match with 819 (χοιρῶν]α το[ύων); in that case we could reckon with an omission of 820. x cannot be brought to match with any of the adjacent lines (after ν traces on edge suggesting a left-hand arc). But this may be a false problem if x and y were never intended to be part of the main text. The interlinear space between them is narrower than usual, so that one may think that they may be comments written above the column of writing, as in fr. 6. Nevertheless, they seem to be in the same hand as the main text, unlike what happens in the other fragments preserving annotation (frs. 5 and 6).

## Fr. 16–23 UNPLACED

Fr. 16	Fr. 17	Fr. 18
. . . . ]. . . .[ ]νμ[ ]νμ[ . . . .]α . [	. . . . ]. θ . [ . . . ον[ ]. πo[ ]θo . [ . . . κ . [	. . . . ]. δα[ ]. ορ[ ]. ιθ . [ ]ωνα[ . . . .
5                    ]να . [		

Fr. 16            1 ] . . . [ , base and lower right quadrant of rounded letter; upright, short interval, lower arc at one-third height (κ if one letter); rising oblique, wedge not excluded            4 ] . . . , high trace; triangular top            . [ , high speck            5 . [ , curved leg joining tip of lower arc at lower right (μ<sup>2</sup>)

Fr. 17            1 ] . . . , upright joining high horizontal extending to right (γ, τ)            . [ , back of rounded letter and a speck at line-level            2 ] . . . , right-hand tip of high horizontal joining upright (one or two letters, ιτ or π)            3 ] . . . , foot of curving tail joining upright to right (ν<sup>2</sup>)            4 θ, only a right-hand curve intersected by cross-bar slightly projecting to the right survives            . [ , λ or half μ            5 ] . . . , upper part of descending oblique, probably joining short riser at mid-height            . [ , upright

Fr. 18            1 ] δ, lower right-hand arc (ο or ω)            2 ] . . . , upright and at the level of its top traces in the same horizontal alignment, allowing a top horizontal (τ or π)            3 ] . . . , right-hand tip of a thickish high horizontal (high dot after θ; apostrophe? diaeresis, if the trace over the adjacent upright is another? accident?)            . [ , upright, horizontal trace joining at half-height to right, left-hand tip of upper arc joining at top to right            5 ] . . . [ , top of descending oblique; top of upright

## Fr. 19

. . . .  
]. [ ] . [  
]κα . [  
]. υc[  
]. [ ] . . [

## Fr. 20

. . . .  
]. . . [  
]νδ . [  
]. c . [  
]. [ ] . . [

## Fr. 21

. . . .  
]. αμω[  
. . . .

Fr. 19            1 ] . . . [ , lower arc, speck at upper right (ο?)            . [ , trace at line-level, probably foot of rising oblique or corner of edge of α            2 ] . . . , top of descending oblique at two-thirds height            3 ] . . . , front and base of curved letter (ο or ω; θ excluded since no trace of crossbar visible)            4 ] . . . [ , high speck            . [ , right-hand curve intersected by crossbar (apparently θ); top of α, δ, λ

Fr. 20            1 ] . . . [ , lower part of α?; foot of left-hand curve            2 ] . . . [ , specks on edge (same alignment)            3 ] . . . [ , left-hand tip of high horizontal            4 ] . . . [ , curved back and base

## Fr. 21

This scrap could be part of 296, 334, 590, or 1050. But ]μω[ is also possible.

## Fr. 22

. . . .  
]. ρ̂ εχ[  
]  
]νμεν[

## Fr. 23

. . . .  
]. φ . . [  
]. γα[  
. . . .

Fr. 23            1 ] . . . [ , two uprights linked with top horizontal (ιτ or ιτ)            2 ] . . . , speck at two-thirds height

## Fr. 22

mrg. The first word might be κκ]όρθ(α) (= κκ]όρθα); after that possibly a form of ξχω. For what it is worth, we may try placing the fragment in 164 (πoρθούμενος), which is in a context with references to κκ]όρθα and with scholia mentioning κκ]όρθα ξχοντες (Σ 163a has ξχων φορτίον κκ]όρθων).

1 Neither  $\phi\epsilon\tau$  nor  $\phi\epsilon\pi$  occur in the *Achamenses*.

N. GONIS

4511. ARISTOPHANES, *EQUITES* 736–46

106/44(b)

2.3 × 5.7 cm

Third century

A small fragment with the beginnings of 10 verses. No margins have been preserved. The writing is along the fibres. Back blank.

The script is a rather informal, medium-sized specimen of the 'Severe Style', slanting somewhat to the right. I would place it in affinity with *GLH* 21a and assign it to not earlier than the first half of the third century. The fairly pronounced contrast between thick and thin strokes and the presence of ornamental hooks on the upper extremities of  $\delta$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\nu$ ,  $\psi$  suggest that it belongs to the mature period of the style; on the so called 'tipo ornato' of this style see M. S. Funghi, G. Messeri Savorelli, *Analecta Papyrologica* 1 (1989) 37 ff. (list of examples on p. 41 n. 12). All the lectional signs seem to be by the original scribe; there are *paragraphoi*, signalling speaker change, a rough breathing, and an acute accent (both in 745).

*Equites* is the play of which most papyri have come down to us (eight in Pack<sup>3</sup>), but no other papyrus includes these lines. The new piece contributes nothing useful to the text, whose history has been traced by D. M. Jones, *CQNS* 2 (1952) 171 ff.; 5 (1955) 39 ff.; and M. Pohlenz, *NAWG* (1952) 95 ff.

736 αλ[λ  
 μοιο[ς  
 τους μ[εν  
 αυτων[  
 740 και κυ[τοτομοις  
 εν γαρ π[οιω  
 ο τι τ[ων  
 πλευ[ς]α[ς]  
 744 εγω δε π[εριπατων  
 εψοντ[ος  
 και μ[ην

744 δε: om. V, to the detriment of the metre.

745 εψοντ[ος]. The reason for the placing of diacritics above  $\epsilon$  in the papyrus is not easy to deduce. The accent may serve to distinguish the Attic form (see Herodian 1.456, 2.260, and especially in *An. Ox.* 257 f.) from the contracted form εψοντρος (parts of εψέω are transmitted occasionally even in writers of the fifth and fourth centuries, see Kühner-Blass, *Grammatik* II 435, although they are often distinguished only by their accent). As regards the rough breathing, it is possible that some uncertainty was felt in antiquity about the correct aspiration. I have not found evidence of this dispute elsewhere. But note that R writes εψοντρος (sic).

N. GONIS

4512–4513. ARISTOPHANES, *VESPAE*

Two manuscripts of the *Vespaie* have been identified among the unpublished holdings of the Egypt Exploration Society. One is from a roll, the other from a parchment codex. The text presented by the new pieces is not extant in either of the two papyri of the play that have been published before. The commentary 4509 with lemmata from verses 36–41 constitutes a further ancient testimony to the text of the *Vespaie*.

D. M. MacDowell offers a short sketch of the history of the text on pp. 30 ff. of his edition (1971); see also H. J. Newiger, *Gnomon* 55 (1983) 392 with further literature. For the readings of the manuscripts I have used the collations of E. Cary, *HSCP* 30 (1919) 1 ff., and MacDowell's apparatus. The sigla are those of MacDowell.

4512. ARISTOPHANES, *VESPAE* 96–116

37 4B.105/F(1)c

7 × 11.3 cm

Third century

The head of a column from a roll, with an upper margin preserved to 1.4 cm. The writing is parallel with the fibres. Back blank.

Verse 96 is a column top, and the column contained at least 21 verses. If the play began at the top of a column, vv. 1–95 could have occupied (i) 4 columns at an average of 24 verses/col., or (ii) 3 columns at an average of 32 verses, or (iii) 2 columns of c. 48 verses. On the basis that the first 15 verses of the surviving column measure 7.3 cm in height, column-height could be restored as (i) c. 11.7, or (ii) c. 15.6, or (iii) c. 23.4 cm. Allowing 6 cm more for the upper and lower margins together, roll-height would measure at least (i) c. 17.7 cm, or (ii) c. 21.6 cm, or (iii) c. 29.4 cm. (i) may be dismissed, as there is no example of a roll of this small format from the third century (for the issue see the discussion in 4521 introd.). There is no secure way of choosing between (ii) and (iii). Rolls most often range from 25 to 32 cm in height (cf. W. A. Johnson, *CP* 88 (1993) 47), and this may favour (iii). If (ii) holds true, approximately 48 columns would have been needed to contain the play, if the line arrangement did not differ from the medieval tradition. The column to column width in the trimeter parts might have averaged 11 cm (9 + 2), which would give c. 5.3 m of roll to contain the play. In the case of (iii), the figures would be c. 32 columns and c. 3.5 m of roll.

The papyrus is written in a smallish, slanting hand of the 'Severe Style', assignable to the first half of the third century. The apostrophe between the two taus in 107 in fact favours a third century date (cf. *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 11 n. 50). The general effect may be

comparable with LJI 3659 (iii c.), which is somewhat more rapid and more partial to obliques; compare also XLIJ 3008 (iii c.), which is again more rapid. XXXIX 2888 (second half of ii c.) is also similar, though here angularity is more pronounced and mu is different. The cross-stroke of ν tends to the horizontal; ψ has the form of a cross. Descenders end in little curls to the left, a feature frequently found among representatives of the 'Severe Style' in its mature phase.

*Apostrophes*, apparently supplied by the original copyist, signal elision, but not consistently (neglected in 107); in 103 a patch of damage on the papyrus leaves it uncertain whether there was originally an apostrophe. Diaereses (inorganic) are used once over initial ι (97) and twice over initial ν (102, 108). No other lectional signs are in evidence. Punctuation by spacing seems to have been used in 112 (see the note below). Iota adscript is correctly placed where required.

The papyrus shows no textual novelties. With the exception of 108 the text is not different from that of most recent editions.

## Τορ

ω]ςπερ λιβανωτων ε[πιτιθει  
 και νη Δι' ην ιδηι γε π[ου  
 υ]ιον Πυριλαμπους[  
 ι]ων παρεγραψε πλη[σιον  
 100 το]ν αλεκτηρωνα[  
 ο]ψ' εξεγειρειν αυτο[ν  
 πα]ρα των υπευθυν[ων  
 ευθ]υς δ απο δορπης[το]υ[  
 κα]πειτ' εκεις' ελθων π[ροκαθειδει  
 105 ω]σπερ λεπας προσεχομ[ενος  
 υπο δ]υσκολιας δ' απαςι τιμων  
 ω]σπερ μελιτ' η βομβυλι[ος  
 υπο τ]οις ονξι κηρο[ν] υ[ποπεπλασμενος  
 ψηφ]ων δε δεισας μη δε[σηθειη  
 110 ι]ω]ει δικαζειν αυγια[λον  
 ]γουθετουμεν[ος  
 δικα]ζει το[υ]τον ο[υν  
 ]ησαντες ως[  
 τ]ην νοσον β[αρεως  
 115 ]λογοις παρ[αμυθουμενος  
 αυτο]ν μη φο[ρειν

(From the top margin a faint line descends through π of ω]ςπερ over four lines to ν of ι]ων; apparently a stray penstroke.)

97 ην: so codd. plerique: αν J, a banalisation.

98 υ]ιον: so RV: τον rell. Spacing would permit either reading, but the first trace, the top of a tall upright, clearly indicates iota. τον was thought to be unmetrical, as it gives a choriamb in the first metron (Πν- is scanned short). A choriamb does sometimes substitute for the first metron of the trimeter, but this phenomenon is peculiar to tragedy, mainly with intractable proper names (and later in the mimiambos of Herondas). It occurs only once in comedy, Pax 663, but there in imitation of tragic diction (another example is V. 902, but the passage is usually emended). On the issue see V. Schmidt, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Herondas* (1968) 96 ff.

99 ι]ων: so RVJ: ιδων B. ιων seems to conform better to the line of the left-hand margin, as established from the verses above and below. Apparently ιδων was influenced by ιδηι in 97.

παρεγραψε: R has παρεγραψε, a trivial variant.

101 εξεγειρειν: so RV: εγειρειν J, which does not scan.

102 παρα των: so codd. plerique: παρ' αυτων V, which is unmetrical and makes no sense.

103 δ: om. J, probably an accidental omission.

The papyrus is abraded after δ, and it is not clear whether there was originally an elision mark.

δορπητου: δορπητου V in error.

107 μελιτ' τ. That the scribe placed the apostrophe between the two taus may have led him to leave the elision unmarked.

108 υ]ποπεπλασμενος: so J: αναπεπλασμενος rell. What remains from upsilon is not conclusive, but the diaeresis above points to either ε or υ, and iota is palaeographically impossible. The coincidence of J with the papyrus is interesting; it may indicate an ancient source behind those readings of J not found in other mss. J is sometimes alone in offering good readings not otherwise transmitted (see MacDowell p. 31; but note that the value attached to J has been contested on more than one occasion, see Newiger, *Gnomon* 55 (1983) 392). Nevertheless, it is hard to say that υποπεπλασμενος was what Aristophanes wrote. αναπεπλασμενος, which editors generally prefer, is not exactly paralleled, but υποπεπλασμενος is a compound not attested in classical Greek (MacDowell). One may entertain the suspicion that υπό at the beginning of v. 106 promised υποπεπλασμενος. But there can be nothing like certainty.

109 δεισας: so V: δεσας rell., which is absurd. It may have arisen from ενδεσαντες in v. 113; but it could also be a phonetic or even a graphic error.

110 ε]χοι: so RSVB: εχη JP in error (see MacDowell).

112 A space of 2 mm has been left blank between what I take to be the top of ι and τ: apparently punctuation, to indicate a pause in the speech (cf. *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 8).

113 ]ησαντες: ενδεσαντες RV: εγκλεισαντες JBP. The first letter is damaged, but the traces suit η rather than ε. The papyrus may thus be thought to support the reading of RV, which is the *lectio difficilior*; εγκλεισαντες may be an intrusive gloss (MacDowell). Some editors print εγκλησαντες. The epigraphic evidence shows that this spelling was indeed in circulation in Athens down to the earlier fourth century (see L. Thraette, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* I 368 ff.), but the ancient grammarians claim that κλειειν was the form employed by the comedians, while κληειν was admitted only in paratragic passages (see Coulon I, introd. p. xxix and n. 3).

N. GONIS

## 4513. ARISTOPHANES, VESPAE 1066-1108

67 6B.15/J(τ)

FR. 3-7 6.6 × 10 cm

Fifth century

Eight fragments of a leaf of a parchment codex; fr. 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 touch, but each only at a single point. This must have been a handsome manuscript, but the present remnants have suffered much and are extremely brittle. In many places the parchment has turned dark, especially on the hair side, while a couple of reddish stains complete the

overall smudged appearance. Nevertheless, much the greater part of the text is clearly visible, written in a metallic ink now turned dark brown. No margins survive.

There were 31 lines to the page; the written height is calculable at 18.3 cm. No line survives in its entirety; this and the absence of margins would make any reconstruction of the original format of the page largely hypothetical. A rough estimate of the width of 1077, which should be the longest verse of the piece, yields a figure of c. 15.3 cm. Allowing for a possible margin of c. 5 cm on all sides, the dimensions of the codex would be about 20.5 × 23.5 cm, bringing it into class V of parchment codices (20/17 × 25/21), as described in Turner, *Typology* 27.

The hand is a specimen of the 'sloping pointed majuscule'; it falls into its first type (GBEBP p. 4), whose state of perfection is typified by the hands responsible for the *Freer Gospels* (= GBEBP 15a, assigned to iv/v by Cavallo—Maehler). Our parchment seems to be somewhat later, and a date not earlier than the beginning of the fifth century may be considered; GBEBP 17b (later v) is very similar. Shading, 'found in some examples of "sloping majuscule" from the later v century onwards' (GBEBP p. 42), is evident throughout. Ornamentation takes the form of finials, chiefly smallish blobs, on the top curves of ε and ς, the ends of the horizontals of γ and τ, and the tips of the prongs of υ. Notable also are the slightly slanting δ, 'a type which is not attested before the late v century and does not become frequent until the vi century' (GBEBP p. 90); κ broken in two halves; ξ in a single sequence of five movements; φ with elliptical loop; and the oblique profile of the feet of most uprights.

Iota adscript is written in the only place which requires it (1079). Apostrophes accompany elisions (1078, 1083, 1097, 1100), but there is one instance of tacit elision (1083) and another of *scriptio plena* (1106). There is no other lectional sign in evidence.

All verses contained on the leaf are represented, but many metrical cola normally counted as single verses appear split into two lines. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the same arrangement was followed also in other parts of the play, such as e.g. the lengthy anapaests that preceded. It is thus not possible to calculate precisely the number of the pages that the play would have covered. At any rate, in a format of 31 lines to a page, the whole of the play would have taken up no less than 50 pages, and at least 34 pages would have come before the present one.

The eccentricity just described does not rest on any metrical principle. Similarly, reasons of space seem to be ruled out, for we find verses of equal or even greater length than those divided written normally in a single line. Cf. e.g. 1077 (40 letters) written in one line, while 1079 (37 letters) occupies two (26 + 11); also 1106 (34 letters, one line) and the preceding 1105 (35 letters in two—23 + 12). It must be noted that all the lines containing the second part of a split verse are uniformly indented in relation to the preceding (and the following) longer line; the indentation must have been 5–6 letters' space, that is the same as the indentation of the lyrics. It is also worth noticing that there is a difference of division between epirrhema and antepirrhema. I suppose that this arrangement was effected with a certain aesthetic intention, perhaps for the right-hand edge of the column to be as straight as possible. (Views about the *mise en page*

played an important role in the fortunes of lyric passages during the transmission, cf. J. Irigoin, *RÉG* 75 (1962) 61 ff.)

The colometry of the lyric parts is virtually identical with that of R and V (for an exception see 1095 n.), and the ode as preserved responds with the antode. In this codex only the first three (1091–3), the sixth (1095a) and the last three (1068–70 = 1099–1101) cola appear to conform to a metrical pattern. The arrangement of the remaining cola seems to be based on an effort to match colon-end with word-end rather than on metre. Although there are no metrical *scholia vetera* available, we may surmise that the Alexandrians produced a sequence of trochaic dimeters, but this division pattern gradually deteriorated to what we find now in this and the later codices. The supposedly Alexandrian colometry has not found much favour in modern times. (Most recently Parker, *The Songs of Aristophanes* 246 ff. opts for a different analysis; contrast Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen* ii 212 ff., iii 31 f.)

The parchment offers six readings and a line arrangement not attested elsewhere. The amount of novelty is remarkable, but it would be bold to conclude that 4513 represents a branch of the tradition which has not survived in any medieval manuscript. I suppose all aberrations could be attributed to scribal carelessness and individual whim; with the exception of the new variant in 1102, all the other unique readings could be more or less easily dismissed as corrupt.

In the transcript ι and ς are used for letters visible on an old photograph, but due to disintegration of some edges no longer extant.

## Flesh side

1066	λευψαν]ων[	
	ρωμη]ν	
1067	]ω ως εγω[	
	νομι]ζω	
	]κρειττον η π[ολλων	(5)
	κικινω]υς [ν]εα[νιων	
1070	]υπρωκτιασ[	
	τ]ην εμην ιδ[ων	
	]μεσον διεσφηκ[ωμενον	
	ηπνωι]α της εγκεν[τριδος	(10)
	κα]ν αμους[ος	
1075	προσε]τιν το[υτο	
	]εγγεν[εις	
	ανδρικωτα]τον γενος και π[λειστα τ]ηνδε[	
	ωφελησαν]τες εν μαχαιων [ηνικ η]λθ' ο β[αρβαρος	(15)

- 1079 καπνω]ι τυφων απαε[αν τ]ην πολιν[  
]πυρπολω[ν]  
1080 ]μων μ[ενουιν]ων προς βιαν τα[ν  
θρ]ηνια . [
- 1081 ευθε]ως γ[α]ρ ξυ[νδραμοντ]εε ξυν δορει ξ[υν  
αεπιδι (20)
- 1082 εμ]αχομε[ε]θ' αντοιει θυμον [οξιν]ην πεπω[κοτεε  
1083 ]ανηρ παν ανδρ' υπ οργηε[  
χελυν]ην εεθιων
- 1084 τ]ων τοξευμ[ατω]ν ουκ[  
το]ν ουρα[νον] (25)
- 1085 ]εωσα[μεεθα ξυ]ν θεοι[ε  
1086 ]ημων [πριν μ]αχεεα[εθαι  
ετ]ρατον δ[ιεπτα]το[  
1087 ]α θυννα[ξοντε]ε ε[ι]ε  
θυλακο]υε (30)

## Hair side

- εφευ]γο[ν  
τ]ουμ[ενου  
π]αρα τοι[ε  
γυν ετι
- 1090 Α]πτικου κα[λειεθαι (5)  
δ]ρικωτερον  
1091 ]η τοθ' ωε[τε  
και κατεε[τρεψαμην  
]εναντιουε π[λεων  
ου γαρ ην[ (10)  
1095 ] ευ μελλει[  
ε]υκοφαι[τησειν  
φρ]οντιε[  
εοι]τ' αριε[τοε  
τοιγαρ]ουν πολλαε πολ[ειε  
ι]Μηδων εν λοντεε (15)  
αι τιτωτατοι φερεεθαι

- 1100 τον φο]ρο[ν ιδιευρ' εεμεν[  
πτουε[ιν οι νε]ωιτεροι
- 1102 πολλαχη σκοπ[ουντ]εε] ημαε ε[ιε (20)  
ευρηε[τε  
1103 τουε τροπουε και την διαιτα]ν εφη[ξιν  
εμφερεετατουε
- 1104 ]μεν γαρ ουδεν ημων ζω[ιον  
ηρ]εθιεμενον (25)  
1105 μαλλο]ν οξυθ[υμου] εεετιν ουδ[ε  
1106 ταλ]λα ομοι[α παντα] εφηξ[ι  
1107 ]ντεε γ[αρ καθ εε]μουε[  
τα]νθρηνη[ια  
1108 ημ]ων [ουπερ] αρχων[ (30)  
το]υε [ενδεε]α

1067 ]ν: ξεων codd.: εχειν edd. after Reisig. ξεων is a patent graphic corruption. (This type of error occurs also at *Men. Dysc.* 38, where P<sup>1</sup> has ξεων, whereas P<sup>2</sup> gives εχειν.)

1069 κικιννο]υε: so RG edd.: κικίνουε Δ Suda(2)<sup>1</sup>: (κ 1597): κίνουε V: κοκκίνουε J. I have restored the correct reading, but the spacing would not exclude the other variants (except the meaningless haplography κίνουε).

1070 ]νπρωκτιαν: κηδρυπρωκτιαν codd.: κεδρυπρωκτιαν Kuster edd.

1072 διεεφηε[ωμενον: so RVΓ: εεφηεωμενον J.

1073 τηε: so RV: τηεε τηε rell. τηεεε is probably an interpolation.

1076 εγγε]υε: so RVΓ: εγγενεε J: εγγενεε Vv17 and B<sup>1</sup>.

1078 ωφεληεαν]τεε: ωφεληεαν εν VJ edd.: ωφελουεαν εν Γ: ωφεληεαμεν R. Of τ only a high trace at top left survives, compatible with the right-hand tip of a high horizontal (gamma, which is palaeographically possible too, would lead nowhere). All medieval manuscripts present some form of ωφελουε, and I presume the papyrus had ωφεληεαν]τεε. This is not contradicted by spacing; 1078 is aligned with 1079, and the iota adscript of καπνω]ι is below the right-hand tip of tau, which is exactly what we should expect if ωφεληεαν]τεε stood in 1078. The new reading is probably due to a scribe who failed to understand the participle as referring to γένοε, and took it to refer to ημεε of 1075.

1080 ]μων: ημων VJ (rightly): δμων RG.

1081 ξυ]νδραμοντ]εε: εκδραμοντ]εε codd. Although not much remains, the reconstructed reading seems certain. The new variant is inferior, perhaps wrong altogether. ευντρεχω may occur in military contexts (LSJ s.v. translate 'run together so as to meet in battle, encounter'), but usually takes a dative object. Conversely, εκτρεχω (or εκθεω) is the most appropriate verb to convey the sense of the passage, which is that of an army charging out against an enemy, cf. LSJ s.v.; with this meaning it occurs in some passages of Thucydides and at *Lys.* 456. I suspect that the presence of the two ξυν that follow in the same line may have been the origin of this reading.

ξυν δορει. This (para)tragic phrase is quoted also at *Pax* 356; according to the scholia it comes from Achaioe' *Momos* (*TGF* I 20 F 29). The various mss. read as follows:

*Vesp.* 1081 ξυν δορι ξυν εεπιδι (J's unmetrical δουρι is an obvious epicism);

*Pax* 356 ευν δορι ευν εεπιδι;

Choirob., *In Theod.* 1.316. 15 ευν δορει ευν εεπιδι.

The second is unmetrical; we must change to *ζύν* or to *δῶρει* or both. Most editors print *ζύν δορί ζύν ἀσπίδι* in both places; not many have followed Hermann in opting for *κύν δῶρει*. Our parchment now offers *ζύν δῶρει*, which happens to be what Bothe and others printed. Tragic usage seems to favour *ζύν*, cf. Olson on *Pax* 356. In general, *ζύν* was no doubt more likely to be corrupted to *κύν* than the reverse; between *δορί* and *δῶρει*, each is an easy itacistic error for the other. What the parchment shows is that *ζύν* and *δῶρει* coexisted in the fifth century AD. Choroiboskos may have drawn on a manuscript, which we now know to have had a precursor. MacDowell's view that, after the first *ζύν* had been ousted by *κύν* 'some editor changed *δορί* to *δῶρει* in an attempt to restore the metre' now appears less plausible.

1083 *παν· παρ· VIJ*: *πρὸς* R. *παν* yields no sense. Perhaps the combination of rho and clision mark—note its absence in the parchment—was misread as nu. The ensuing *αν* might also have played a part.

1084 *τοξευμ[ατω]ν*: so codd. plerique: *τοξοτών* VIJ<sup>2</sup> *contra metrum*.

1085 *εωσα[μεθα]*: so *An. Ox.* I 446.4–5 (–*μεθα*) edd.: *ἀπεωσάμεθα* IJ; *ἐπανάμεθα* R: *ἐωσάμεθα* VIJ<sup>2</sup>. Assuming that the first letters of 1084 and 1085 were aligned, space excludes that the codex had *ἀπεωσάμεθα*. We cannot of course tell whether it had the metrically required ending –*μεθα* or –*μεθα*. The reading transmitted by the *An. Ox.* 'is a strange piece of luck, since it garbles and quotes as *Lys.*' (E. W. Handley).

1086 *μαχεσα[εθαι]*: *μάχεσθαι* codd. What survives from the letter after sigma best suits alpha (only the wedge and the apex). *μαχέσασθαι* is not strictly unmetrical ('dactyls' in trochaic tetrameters are not intolerable, but the secure parallels are very few, cf. 4510 318 n.), but is less satisfactory in terms of grammar than the received reading.

δ[επτα]το. I supplement with the mss., but certainty on what the papyrus had is impossible. Brunck changed it to *διέπτετο*, and this was adopted by many editors. However, the mss. reading is blameless, cf. Hirschig's commentary and Kühner-Blass, *Grammatik* ii 234, 515.

1087 A traced reconstruction suggests that lines 1086–87 (lines 28–30) were arranged as follows:

γλανξαρρημωνρημαχεσασθαιτον  
στρατονδισπατοειτα  
δειτομεσθαιβυναζοντεσειστους

But this would assume an overrun in a non-lyric part (*ετρα δ'* should start 1087), which has no parallel in the text as preserved. The alternatives are that l. 30 (1087) was not aligned with l. 28 (1086), i.e. it was written in ekthesis, but such a change of alignment is without a parallel in the parchment; or that the text was different from the received.

]α: *επόμεθα* R edd.: *επόμεθα* VIJ. The remaining ink is consistent with alpha, but does not positively identify it.

1088 If *κεν*]ουμ[ενοι was written in a separate line, the indentation would be of only 3 letters, which does not seem to be the case anywhere else. I therefore believe that the division was effected after *κεν*, where one would normally divide, cf. F. Maysers, *Grammatik* I i<sup>2</sup> 222, and Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 17. Of course division after *κε* cannot be excluded, but it is less likely.

1090 It is not clear where this verse was divided. For the same reasons of space as those stated in the previous note, it is preferable to think that *δρικωτερον* was written in the following line, with *αν* kept above. However, one cannot rule out that there may be an exception here to the practice observed elsewhere.

1091 *η*: so IJ; *ην* C; *η*: V; *ην* R. The traces are uncertain, but *η* rather than *ην* is favoured by space. *ην* is not impossible, as MacDowell points out, but it would be easier for *η* to be corrupted to *ην* than vice-versa.

1095 *ευ μελλει*: *εὐ λέξειν ἐμῆλλον* codd. It is difficult to guess how the text continued. *μελλειν*, *μελλει*[ε, or *μελλει*[ are possible, but the context favours the infinitive. It may be that *λέξειν* and *ἐμῆλλον* were transposed, and the infinitive was written instead of the imperfect, perhaps under the influence of the preceding and/or the ensuing infinitives; in this case the text does not scan. But it is perhaps more likely that *λέξειν* was supplanted by *μέλλειν* in assimilation to the following *ἐμῆλλον*.

The colon division is uncertain. The parchment is broken off before *εὐ*, and thus there is no way of knowing whether (i) it had *ῆεν* before *εὐ*, i.e. it divided with the mss., or (ii) began the line with *εὐ*. If (i), *ῆεν* would have been in ekthesis, but ekthesis is not otherwise in evidence in 1094–1101.

1102 *πολλαχι*: *πολλαχοῦ* codd. The new variant is grammatically, as well as metrically acceptable, and yields identical sense with that of the tradition. A striking parallel is provided by Isoc. 4.183: there all editors print *πολλαχῆ λογίζόμενος* with ΓΕ, while the rest of the manuscripts read –οῦ. *πολλαχῆ λογίζόμενος* is very

similar to *πολλαχῆ κοποῦντες* which we have here. But the eccentricity of the other readings in 4513 casts doubt on the genuineness of this novelty.

1107 ]πτε: *ξυλλέγοντες* V edd.: *ξυλλέγοντες* R: *κυλλέγοντες* IJ.

τα]νθρη]α. Most editions read *ὡςπερ εἰς ἀνθρήμα*, after Kock emended the transmitted *ὡςπερ εἰς τὰνθρήμα*. What the parchment had evades us.

N. GONIS

#### 4514. ARISTOPHANES, PAX 1195–1211, 1233–47

68 6B.25/D(1)a

7 × 11.3 cm

Fourth century

A piece of a leaf from a papyrus codex with line-ends and a few marginal notes on the → side (right-hand page) and line-beginnings on the ↓. On the → side the right-hand margin, which is probably the original, measures 4 cm at its narrowest point; on the ↓ the left-hand margin is preserved to 4.8 cm. The writing is along the fibres on the front.

Each page must have contained 36 verses; if the colometry was not considerably different from that transmitted, about 38 pages would have held the whole of the play. The written height was about 21.2 cm; the original width of the codex may be calculated at around 18 cm. No data for the upper and lower margins are available, but codices measuring 18 cm in width fall within those belonging to Turner's Groups 3, 4, and 5 (see the discussion in *Typology* 15 ff., 24). The average page heights of these three groups are 31/2, 25 and 30 cm respectively. We may therefore estimate that the height of the leaf was originally about 25–32 cm.

The writing is in a brownish ink which has faded at places; for metallic inks (originally black, turning brown with age) see *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 19 and n. 107. The rather small hand is a plain round one, with an overall informal stance; it becomes coarser on the side where it is across the fibres, as some physical resistance to the pen was produced by the fibres. Letters often touch. Notable letter-forms include β with broad horizontal base, ν with the oblique curving up to meet the right-hand hasta. The general character is somewhat comparable with *GBEBP* 10b (second half of iv cent.), though the latter is more cramped and has even less formal pretensions. A date within the fourth century is probable. The tiny near-cursive script of the marginalia also points to the same date.

Changes of speaker are indicated by *paragraphoi* and *dicola*. Note, however, the absence of the *paragraphos* below 1238, where the antilabe occurs at mid-verse, while it is marked under 1233 and 1245, where the situation is the same. Problematic is the *paragraphos* below 1232, as the speaker continues in 1233. It seems to have been misplaced, but one wonders whether the two speaker changes within 1233 might have been responsible. Apostrophes are written where elision is required (for the alleged prodelision in 1238 see note below). The other lectional signs in evidence consist of a





traces that should belong to these letters. In the latter case, I can think only of *θερμῶς*, which is not only inconsistent with the traces, but would also be nonsensical, if *θερμῶς* was added to help clarify the sense of *βράττω*. In any case, the short blank space before *θερ* does not encourage the idea that it continues the first gloss (but cf. 1211 mrg.).

ζέει is the gloss given for *βράττει* in Hesychius and *Suda* (β 518). In other lexica and elsewhere in the *Suda* (α 1813) *ἀναβράττειν* is explained with *ἀναδιδοῖεν*. *ἀναβράττω* is also glossed in Σ 1197 and *Ach.* 1005a, b Wilson, but with different wording from the lexica.

1200 mrg. Cf. Pollux 9.72 s.v. *κολληβιστής*: *εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ κόλληβον λεπτόν τι νομισμάτιον*. Other glosses for this word can be found in Hesychius, Thomas Magister and the scholia. This note is not introduced by *εἶδος*, like the previous glosses or the corresponding interpretations in the scholia and the lexica; I suppose it was absent from the source of this note.

1201 *δραχμῶν* ἐμπολῶ. The verse as transmitted reads *νυνὶ δὲ πενήτην δραχμῶν ἐμπολῶ*. It has undergone numerous emendations on the grounds of (i) metre: *δρα-* in *δραχμῶν* must be scanned as long, whereas normally it is short (Dawes); (ii) sense: the price of the sickles is too high, and contrasts violently with the price given for the jars in the following verse (Elmsley). The counterarguments, set out most recently by Sommerstein, are: (i) This scansion for *δρα-* is not unparalleled (for parallels see *Gomme-Sandbach* on *Men. Epit.* 335). (ii) The sum of money involved is deliberately made large for the sake of comic effect (on the unreliability of the prices quoted in Comedy and the comic inflation see D. M. Schaps, *SCJ* 8–9 (1985–8) 66 ff.). Spacing suggests that the papyrus had the same text as the medieval tradition.

1202 εἰ: so RV: εἰς rcll. On *ἐκ* in Aristophanes see 4516 1669 n., 4520 650 n.

1204 *ταυτι*: so Γ: *ταῦτα* RV *contra metrum*.

1205 *κακερδαναιμεν*: so codd. plerique: *κάκερδανόμεν* PL in error.

1210 mrg. *ἐκ ἰνζῶν* is the meaning given by Hesychius, Photius and the *Suda* (π 2438) to *πράρριζος*, which glosses *πράβελυμος* in Hesychius, [Herodianus], *De Part.* 113.18, *Suda* (π 2580), and Σ 1210b and *Eq.* 528a, d Jones-Wilson.

1211 mrg. *οὐ πωλεῖς τοὺς λόφους* interprets *οὐ τι πω λοφῆς* in 1211. Σ 1211a, which has *λόφους πολλοὺς ἔχει ἐν πράξει*, may offer a (remote) parallel. But this does not seem to be the correct rendering of *λοφῆς*. Most modern interpretations follow Σ 1211c, which gives *ὄνομα πεποίηκεν νοσήματος ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος, ὡς λέγομέν τινά ὑδερῶν, εἴς*.

1238 *ὠι νυν* ζέν[εγκε: *ὠι δὴ ζένεγκε* codd. The papyrus is wrong, since the prodelision (only rarely marked in papyri, cf. *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 12) would not have been effected otherwise. It probably derives from 1207, which begins with *ὠι νυν* (on this type of error see J. Jackson, *Marginalia Scaenica* 223 ff.). It does not seem likely that the diastole after *νυν* served as a separator of the two adjacent consonants; this would further point to a different reading from *ζένεγκε*, beginning likewise with *ξεν*, but I cannot think of any.

1240 *τι δ' ἀλλ*: *τί δ' ἀρα* RV<sup>2</sup>: *τί δ' ἀρα* V<sup>1</sup>FP: *έγων' ἀρα* B. The papyrus seems to offer a 'wild' reading. After *ἀρα* the medieval manuscripts offer *τῆ κάπτιγγι τῆδε χρήσομαι*. What follows the second λ has every appearance of being an extraordinarily large apostrophe. But its function is unclear. It may be an elision mark; in that case, a vowel should have followed, but the tradition offers nothing suitable. Alternatively, the sign may be a diastole originally intended to be placed between the two lambdas, but wrongly added after the second of them. I have thought of two possible interpretations: *τί δ' ἀλλ' ἀρα*, generated from *ἔλλο* as a variant for *ἀρα*, or *τί δ' ἔλλο*. They both have their attractions. In both cases the sense runs smoothly and there are no metrical or grammatical flaws (for the construction of *τί* with *χρήσομαι* cf. *Ach.* 935); note also that *τί δ' ἔλλο* occurs twelve times in Aristophanes, mostly at the beginning of a new speech. Professor Handley notes that 'the *ἔλλο* would give the excellent sense "What else can I do with this trumpet?..."', to which an answer in terms of alternative use, aptly ludicrous, is given in 1242 ff., and another again in 1245 ff.'

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#### 4515–4516. ARISTOPHANES, AVES

Among the unpublished holdings of the EES two fragments have been identified as containing portions of the *Aves*. The verses covered are not among those preserved in any of the papyri of the play hitherto published.

A detailed account of the history of the text can be found in N. Dunbar, *Aristophanes Birds* (1995) 19 ff. My reports on readings derive from J. W. White, E. Cary, *HSCP* 29 (1918) 77 ff., and Dunbar's apparatus. The sigla are Dunbar's.

#### 4515. ARISTOPHANES, AVES 1324–8, 1357–61

95/61(a)

Fr. 1 3.45 × 2.7 cm

Fifth/sixth century

Two scraps from a papyrus codex. A right-hand margin of 1.1 cm on the → side of fr. 2 is extant. It seems that there were 33 verses to a page, which gives approximately 54 pages to contain the whole of the play. In what survives the interlinear space on the ↓ side is somewhat wider than on the →; this means that with 33 verses to a page the two sides of the leaf would differ c. 2.5 cm in their written height, 18.15 cm for the → to 20.65 cm for the ↓ side. But if written height remained approximately the same in all sides, we may reckon with either a narrower interlinear space in the part now lost, or a different number of verses on each side.

As practically no margins survive, it is not possible to calculate exact figures for the original dimensions of the codex. Of the verses represented, 1359 should have occupied the greatest width, c. 15 cm. Allowing for a possible margin of 5 cm on all sides, we may reconstruct the dimensions of the page as c. 20 × 26 cm (written height is considered at its maximum). This would classify our codex under Turner's Group 4 (Turner, *Typology* 16), a group 'predominantly of iii to iv, except for its aberrants' (ibid. 24). Group 5, especially its subclass (18 × 25 cm), cannot be excluded, for there are several examples of codices of this size from the third to the sixth century (cf. ibid. 17, 24); we must then allow for less generous side-margins.

The text is written in a coarse medium-sized hand, somewhere in the vicinity of the 'Alexandrian Majuscule'. It is somewhat comparable to *GBEBP* 21c and d (both v/vi) and the more formal 22a (assigned to mid-v c., but I would prefer a slightly later date). A fifth/sixth century date would seem acceptable. The only lectional sign in evidence is an acute accent (1359), apparently written by the original scribe.

The → side preserves parts of lyrics. Their colometry does not diverge from that adopted in modern editions, but in 1325 differs from R and V, which split the line into two separate cola. This arrangement may be due to the fact that the line is longer than the cola that follow (for the scribal tendency to write lyrics in short cola cf. D. J. Mastronarde, J. M. Bremer, *The Textual Tradition of Euripides' Phoinissai* (1982) 152). The agreement of R and V seems to suggest a common, ancient background; but it would be rash to generalise from a single line that the papyrus provides evidence for an alternative ancient colometry (no metrical *scholia vetera* are available).

The papyrus seems to offer the same text as the medieval tradition against generally accepted emendations in 1325 and 1358; but in 1328, so far as it is preserved, it confirms a correction of Bentley. There is also a trivial new variant, apparently a mistake, in 1327.

Fr. 1

Fr. 2

→

1325 φερετω] καλαθον τ[αχυ τις] πτερων  
 cu δ αυ. ι]c εξορμα  
 τυπτων] γε τουτω[ν ωδι  
 πανυ γαρ] βραδυς ε[στι τις ωπερ ονος

Fr. 2

Fr. 1

↓

δ]ει τους ν[εοστους  
 απ]ελαυσα γα[ ] Δι ελθων[  
 το]ν πατέρα[  
 1360 επειδηπε]ρ γαρ ηλθε[ε  
 ]ωπερ ορ[νιν

1324 The attribution of the traces to letters is uncertain. I have tried ]ου θατ[ρον or ]εγκοι[ησεις, but neither seems very satisfactory.

1325 πτερων: so codd.: περύγων Porson and most editors. The emendation is metrical, to make the first colon of the antistrophe correspond with the strophe (1313; cf. Parker, *The Songs of Aristophanes* 341). Perhaps περάων is an influence from the numerous occurrences of περάων and περέα from 1306 onwards (1306, 1307, 1310, 1311, 1375, 1420).

1326 αυ. ι]c: αυτις codd.: αυθις Brunck edd.

1327 τουτω[ν: τοδτον codd. The papyrus' reading is wrong. Possibly it was influenced from the omega in the preceding τυπτων and/or the ensuing ωδι. But it may also be a simple phonetic error.

1328 βραδυς ε[στι τις: β. τις εκτω (τις εκτω) α: β. εκτω γ: β. εκτι τις Bentley, restoring the metre. (My supplement is only *exempli gratia*.) The omission of τις in γ may be deliberate; but there is also nothing to exclude that it antedates Triklinios.

1358 γα[ ] γάρ αν RVEUT: γάρ AME τάρ' (τάρ') αν Elmsley: γ' άρα Dobree: τάρα Meineke. Calculations of the length of the lacuna (our guide is the letters lost in 1325 between the two fragments, which come from a problem-free part of the text) suggest that the papyrus had the unmetrical γάρ αν. For a discussion of the readings see Dunbar's commentary.

1360 γαρ ηλθε[ε]c: so codd. plerique: ανήλθεc E. *contra metrum*.

N. GONIS

## 4516. ARISTOPHANES, AVES 1661-76

106/6(d)

8.7 × 12.1 cm

Second century

The right-hand portion of the lower part of a column of what once was a handsome roll; dirt and humidity are responsible for its present darkened state. The lower margin

measures 3.9 cm; of the intercolumnium 3.9 cm survive at its widest point. If the figure for the extant lower margin is the original, it falls within the range of rolls with column-heights of c. 16-22 cm, see W. A. Johnson, *The Literary Papyrus Roll* (Diss. Yale 1992) 295; in that case the original roll would be of not unusual dimensions, as the common roll height was 25-32 cm (id., *CP* 88 (1993) 47). The script is along the fibres. Back blank.

The hand is a rather informal, well rounded one, and may be assigned to the second century. Bilinearity is violated only by the stems of φ and ψ. Ornamental finials are used plentifully, especially on the feet and the tops of most uprights. c tends to fall over; the arms of ψ constitute a right angle. Somewhat comparable are Schubart, *PGB* 31; Roberts, *GLH* 14 (the second hand); Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 22, 62.

The only lectional sign in evidence is a middle point in 1668, apparently written by the scribe himself. It was probably intended to mark a subdivision inside the period, cf. *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 9, unless it functions as a word separator, so that the reader would not articulate διάλεξον. Elision is observed, but no apostrophes seem to have been inserted. Iota adscript is not written in 1667.

This is the oldest surviving manuscript of the *Aves*, and an important testimony to the constitution of the text. It offers a number of unique variants, and lends support to some modern emendations. Also significant is its concurrence with E in offering the best reading in 1670, which confirms that E provides at least some access to ancient readings.

A preliminary edition of this papyrus was made available to N. Dunbar for her edition of the play.

1661-2 αγχ]ιςτειαυ  
 1662-3 γ]ηη[ε]ιων  
 1663-4 π]αιδες μη ωσι γνησιοι  
 1664-6 εγγ]υτατα γενουc με  
 1666 τ]ων χρηματων  
 ]των πατρωνων χ[ρ]ηματων  
 ]μεντοι μα Δια' λεξον δε μοι  
 1670 κ]αι τουτ εθαυμαζον π[αλαι  
 κεχη]νας οικειαν βλεπων  
 ημ]ων ηc καταστηρας c εγω[  
 ορνιθ]ων παρεξω σοι γαλα  
 ]παλαι δοκειc λεγειν

1675 κ[α]γωγε παραδιδωμι σοι  
 παρα]ντια ψηφιζομαι  
 (foot)

1661–66 The law of Solon is given in prose, and is distinguished by indentation of c. 6 letters from the following trimeters. This is a hypothetical restoration of 1661–67:

νοθαδεμηνεαιααχιστεαν  
 παιδωνοντωννησιου  
 εανδεπαιδεςμωσινησιου  
 ποιεγγυαταγενουσε  
 τεωναιτωνχρηματων  
 εμοιδαρουθεντωνπατρωνχρηματων

The papyrus divides it into 5 lines, as R and V do, but in the later mss. the fifth verse starts with *μερειναι*. (L presents a division into two parallel columns of 3 lines each, with the text running horizontally from the one column to the other; this layout, also used for lyric parts, was probably dictated by aesthetic purposes, or, less likely, by an effort to extract as many iambs as possible from the prose text.) Brunck, who established the numbering now in use, preserved the division into 6 lines.

1662–63 *παιδων οντων γνησιων* was first deleted by Hamaker as interpolated. The papyrus supports the transmitted text. For a discussion on whether the phrase goes back to Solon or is an Aristophanic addition see Dunbar ad loc. (to the literature cited there add D. M. MacDowell, *The Law in Classical Athens* (1978) 99).

1663–64 *μη ωσι*; much abraded, restored on the basis of spacing. V has *δωω*, a trivial variant of common type.

1665 *εγγυατα*: *εγγυατω* codd. edd. Both forms were used in antiquity (see in general Kühner-Blass, *Grammatik* i 578). *εγγυατα/-ω γενουσι* is a legal phrase which occurs in numerous passages, where both forms of the adverb often coexist as textual variants (for the occurrences in fifth/fourth century literature see Fris Johansen and Whittle on A. *Suppl.* 388; cf. also Blaydes ad loc.). The earliest instance is the passage of Aeschylus mentioned above, where *εγγυατα* is guaranteed by the metre. Parallels could thus allow either reading, and no chronological pattern in the usage of either form can be established. Even the various versions of the law of Solon display the same characteristic lack of uniformity. Aristophanic usage is inconclusive. *εγγυατα* is what all mss. offer at *Ran.* 162, but there the metre would not exclude *εγγυατω*; in fr. 558 the source has *εγγυατω*, and editors have restored *-ατα* and *-ατω* at different times. The relevant epigraphic evidence is limited to IG I<sup>3</sup> 131 (c. 435 BC) alone, which has *εγγυατα γενουσι*. This inscription may be of particular importance, as it bears a legal text (the reading is not unequivocal and some editors print *εγγυατω*, but the latest edition rules out the possibility that this can be read on the stone). The inscription, as well as A. *Suppl.* 388 suggest that Aristophanes may have written *εγγυατα*. But what he wrote we cannot determine—I do not see why *-τω* is preferable as the less obvious form' (Dunbar).

U and q add *τωδ* before *γενουσι*, but the article is not necessary.

1668 *μα*: so RVFUB: *νη* coll., *contra metrum*.

1669 *εγγυατα*: *ελεψγαγ'* E: *ελεψγαγ'* RΓ Ag: *ελεψγαγεν* V. It is hazardous to guess what the papyrus had. *ελεψγαγ'* occupies so little room, that considerations of space cannot be reliable. Nevertheless, I would suspect that insofar as the papyrus' *ελεψγαγ'* stands alone in the tradition, it might have sprung from a preceding *ελεψγαγ'*. *ελεψγαγ'* codd. Editors nowadays print *ελεψγαγ'* and *ελεψγαγ'*. Coulon postulated that *ελεψγαγ'* should be preferred 'dans d'anciennes locutions, consacrées par l'usage' (I, introd. xxviii). The argument seems to be: a stock phrase must be old, hence likely to preserve the more archaic *ελεψγαγ'*. It is not impossible that *ελεψγαγ'* is an expression of this kind, as it has every appearance of being a set phrase. But I think it more likely that both *ελεψγαγ'* and *ελεψγαγ'* result from the well-known tendency of some scribes to restore what they thought to be archaic forms (cf. D. J. Mastronarde, J. Bremer, *The Textual Tradition of Euripides' Phoinissai* 176 f.).

*φρατεραι*: *φρατορας* codd. The papyrus offers the correct reading, first restored by Dindorf, and corroborated by the inscriptions (cf. J. Threatte, *Grammar* i 534). *φρατορας* is the form that later became ordinary, and not surprisingly displaced the older in the mss.

1670 *τουτ*: so E: *δητ'* ΓUq: *δητα τ'* RVA. I believe that *τουτ'* is likely to be what the poet wrote. For the arguments in favour of *τουτ'* see Dunbar ad loc.

1671 *αικειαν*: *αικιαν* RVEFUBC: *αιτιαν* Ag. The papyrus offers the correct reading in terms of orthography, corroborating Lenting's correction. To judge from Threatte, the word does not seem to occur in Attic inscriptions.

1672 *ησι*: *εησι* A, which was approved by some editors, but seems to be an emendation rather than a genuine variant.

*καταστηρας*: *καταστηρω* codd. The papyrus vindicates Hirschig's correction, who tried to eliminate the asyndeton. The emendation, which did not immediately meet with overall approval, has been convincingly defended by E. Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge* I 449. It may be worth noting that R, V, L have a middle dot after *τράνωνον*; does it go back to ancient punctuation? I presume that the corruption can be explained as a graphic confusion in the minuscule.

1674 *παλαι*: so codd. plerique: *παλω* RV. I think *παλαι* has as good a claim as *παλω*; Dunbar opts for *παλαι* as 'more comically exaggerated'.

Some inexplicable ink traces can be discerned after the end of the line; offsets?

1675 *κ[α]γωγε*: E has *κ[α]γω*, *contra metrum*.

N. GONIS

#### 4517–4518. ARISTOPHANES, RANAE

Fragments of two papyrus codices double the number of known papyri of *Ranae* (there are no textual overlaps). The history of the text is outlined on pp. 76 ff. of K. Dover's *Frogs* (1993). For the Byzantine recensions see C. N. Eberline, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of the Ranae of Aristophanes* (1980). As a basis for the collation I have used Dover's apparatus, with additional material from Eberline, from Dover, *Text*, and from Coulon's apparatus.

#### 4517. ARISTOPHANES, RANAE 592–605, 630–47

66 6B.26/J(1–2)a

15.1 × 10.8 cm

Fourth century

The lower part of a leaf of a papyrus codex. The ↓ side was a right-hand page, the → a left-hand. There were 42 verses to a page; the 1533 numbered verses in modern editions would have occupied c. 37 pages of this codex. The extant lower margin measures 1.3 cm (↓ side); the outer margins (↓) average 2 cm each. The width of the codex may be estimated at around 16 cm. The height of the written area should approximate 21 cm. A page width of 16 cm lies closest to the range of Turner's Group 6, in which codices average 28 cm in height, cf. *Typology* 18, 24 (Groups 7 and 8 are less likely possibilities).

The text is written in metallic ink now appearing dark brown in colour. The practised hand is a specimen of the sloping scripts found in papyri of the fourth century, reminiscent of the 'Severe Style' and congener to the 'sloping pointed majuscule'. Fairly strict bilinearity is preserved. Thin horizontals contrast with thicker uprights and

obliques. Notable is the flamboyance of the descenders of *v* and (less often) *ρ*, descending well below the line and curving sharply to the left. The overall impression is similar to that of *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 49 (iv); the two hands bear certain affinities, especially in the case of features peculiar to the 'Biblical Majuscule' (*η, μ, ν, ρ, τ, φ*), but the characteristic feet of long descenders and the decorative finials on the horizontal of *τ* in our codex may suggest a later date. Similarities with most of the letter forms of the script exemplified by the *Freer Gospels* (= *GBEBP* 15a), especially in the descenders of *ρ* and *ν*, make a date close to AD 400 likely. It represents, however, a less advanced stage of development; the *Freer Codex* shows a higher degree of stylisation and may be somewhat later in date.

The text is richly provided with lectional signs. All may have been written at the same time as the text (same ink). *Paragraphoi* and *dicola* signal speaker changes, and there is also a marginal *nota personae*. *Apostrophes* mark all elisions except one (599a; there is nothing in 645 after *παταξ*]αc, but it is disputed, see 645 n.). There are also high points, a low point (see 644 n.), acute accents, circumflexes (between letters, in the pointed form), a rough breathing (Turner's form 3), a diastole after *ουκ* in 640, and diaereses (inorganic) in the form of short horizontals along with the usual pair of dots. Crasis has been effected in 647, but not in 598. Prodelision is left unmarked. Iota adscript is employed three times (once in error, see 643 n.) and missed twice. A revision of the text appears likely, as indicated by the dicolon written high and squeezed between the letters in 647; the iotas added high between the letters in 599b, 642, and 643, substituting for missing iota adscripts; the paragraphos in 597, clumsily inserted further to the right than usual; the addition of a word omitted during copying in the left-hand margin, opposite the verse where it should normally belong. (It is not clear whether the correction in 639 was made *currente calamo* or during the revision.) There is no indication that the revision is due to a separate *diorthotes*; the marginal additions seem to be by the same hand, and the colour of the ink is consistent with that of the main text. Despite the *diorthosis*, however, an orthographic error has been overlooked (605). In what regards syllable-division, the papyrus exhibits the tendency to attach the consonant of an elided syllable to the following vowel, even if that consonant has to be transferred to the next line (599a; 598b seems to be a different case). This seems to have been the usual practice in antiquity, cf. Herodian 2.408 and the examples assembled by Mayser, *Grammatik* I<sup>2</sup> 224. This is also in evidence in the mss., at least in RVKt.

A feature that this codex shares with the other two published papyri of *Ranae* is the presence of verses of lyric. It has been observed that the colometry of those two papyri generally tallies with that of R (cf. Dover, *Frogs* 90). Here too the arrangement of the lyrics does not diverge considerably from that of RVAK (see below note on colometry).

The papyrus offers no significant textual novelty. Its points of divergence from the medieval tradition can be dismissed as scribal errors. But it is of special interest that it accords with some medieval manuscripts in certain much disputed readings.

In the numbering of the lyrics I follow Dover.

	. . . . .	]το δεινον
592		μειμνημενο]ν
		]
		]
595	κακβαλη[ιc	]
596-7	αυθιc αίρεcθαι c' α[ναγκη παλιν τ]α cτρωματα:	
598a	ξανθ ου κακωc ω[νδρεc παραι]νει	
598b	τ' αλλά και α[υτο]c[ τυγχαι]νω [tau	
599a	τ αρτι cυνν[ο]ουμενοc [	
599b	οτι μεν ο[υ]ν ην χρηcτὸν η' τι[	
600	τουτ' αφαιρειcθαι παλιν π[ει	
601	ραcεται μ' ευ οιδ' οτι [	
602a	αλλ' ομωc εγω παρεξω [	
602b	μαντον ανδρειον το λημμα [	
603a	και βλεποντ' οριγανον' [	
603b-604	δειων δ' εοικεν ωc ακουω τηc θ[υραc	
605	ξυνδειται ταχεωc τουτογ[ι τον κυνοκλοπον	
	→	
630	αυτοc[	
	αθανατοc[	
	τουτον δε δο[υλον	
	και πολυ γε μ[αλλον	
	ειπερ θεοc[	
635	τι δητ' επει[δη και cu φηιc ε]ι[ν]αι θεοc	
	ου κ[α]ι cu τυπ[τει τασ ιαc]c] πληγασ εμοι:	
	δικ[α]ιοc ο λογ[οc χωποτε]ρον γ' αν νωιν ιδη[ιc	
	κλαυcαντα προ[ο]τ[ει]ρον η προτιμηcαντα [τι	
	τυπτομεγον ειναι του[τ]ον ηγδου μ[αι]] η' θεον:	
640	ουκ εcθ οπ]ωc ουκ' ει cu γενναδαc ανηρ'	
	χωρειc γαρ ε]ιc το δικαιοον' αποδυεcθε δη:	
	πωc ονν βα]cανιειc ημαc δικαιοωc: ρα'διωc'	
	πληγην π]αρα πληγην εκατερον: καλω'c λέγειc [	
	ιδου κκοπει] νυν. ην μ' υποκιηcαντ' ιδηc:	

ἠδῆ παταξ|ας: ου μα Διῖ: οὐδ' εμοι δοκει·  
 ἀλλ εἰμ ἐπι| τονδι· και παταξω: πηρικα:  
 και δη πατ]αξα: κᾶτα πως ουκ ἐπταρον[

*Note on colometry.* The papyrus disagrees with RVAK in the following points: (i) here 592a–b are combined into one colon (see 592 n.), contrary to the mss. where they are separated; (ii) 600 (correctly) ends in *πει-* here, while R and V divide at *πειρα-* (to judge from Dover's apparatus AK should agree with the papyrus). But the agreement of the papyrus and the mss. in having the last two cola of each strophe (596–7, 603b–604) conflated into one is characteristic (see also 604 n.)—it is not important that R has τὰ στρώματα in the next line, as this is probably due to reasons of space. Conflations into a single colon of a sequence normally treated as two separate cola is a recurrent phenomenon in the manuscripts, commonly held to represent the copyists' attempt to save space. It is hardly significant that in the papyrus the lyrics (with the exception of the lengthy 603b–604, written in *ekthesis*) are aligned with the iambs, whereas in the mss. the lyric part is separated from the iambic by means of indentation and the like; the layout preferred is often a matter of individual aesthetic preferences.

592 ]το δεινον. The verse as transmitted by manuscripts other than *t* reads ἀναεάζειν και βλέπειν ἄδικ το δεινόν (εἰς τὸ δεινόν A unmetrically). This could be scanned as a trochaic trimeter. But it should respond with 599b–600 in the antistrophic, and also with 536–7a and 543b–544a in the corresponding pair of stanzas, which all present a trochaic tetrameter (or two dimeters). It seems that one metron has dropped out; the natural place for it would be after or before ἀναεάζειν. Various supplements have been proposed; the oldest is that of *t*, *εαντὸν αἰεῖ*, made up by Trinklins himself to patch up the problematic colon, as he professes in his scholion (Σ<sup>V</sup>5, see Eberlein, op. cit. 73). The one that has fared best is Scidler's αὐ τὸ λῆμα. The evidence from the papyrus is not unequivocal. If it had contained the two dimeters intact, those would have been given as two separate cola, i.e. ἀναεάζειν—|και—, just like the following dimeters. But the position of τὸ δεινόν in the papyrus indicates that και cannot have started the line; if alignment with the rest had been effected, some more letters must have preceded και. I think it unlikely that the previous dimeter was also written in the line, for the space available seems too short to accommodate it, even if *ekthesis* were employed—unless we think of an overrun, with the dimeter split between two lines; but this practice is not in evidence in the rest of the text. It would thus seem that the papyrus had the same text as the mss. with ἀναεάζειν starting the line, but, as spacing suggests, in *ekthesis* of about the same length as that in 603b–4. For a discussion of the passage see W. Trachten, *Die Responsionsfreiheit bei Aristophanes* (Diss. Wien 1968) 87 f.; C. Romano, *Responsioni libere nei canti di Aristofane* (1992) 57 ff.; Zimmermann, *Untersuchungen* I 200; and the commentaries of Dover and Sommerstein.

595 καββαλη|ς: so VΣ<sup>RV</sup>: και βάλης RAKU: και βάλλης Vb3Θ: και βάλλει M. Before the break only the foot of an upright survives, but ε| cannot be read.

596 ε' α[ναγκη παλιν: so RKMU: ε' ἀνάγκη 'ετι πάλιν V: εε πάλιν A: ε' ἀνάγκη τις πάλιν *t*. The responding lines (540–1) have the pattern  $\cup - x - \cup -$ ; by comparison, RKMU omit a long syllable before πάλιν, whereas V substitutes a short. After Dawes, most editors print 'εται. The close similarity of 'εται to the reading of V makes the latter interesting: it is not unlikely that 'ετι derives from 'εται through the omission of the alpha. For the presumed corruption there is a good parallel at *Ach.* 792, where the Berlin codex and R have ἔεται, whereas ΛΓ give ἔται. (This may also be the case in E. *IA* 1033, where the transmitted ἔται was emended to ἔται by Mankland.) The metrical defect of 'ετι can also be repaired by the addition of nu chelkystikon. The Trinklinsian reading seems to be a metrical restoration; but no metrical scholion exists, and there is always the possibility that Trinklins found τις in some manuscript and did not invent it himself. Considerations of space suggest that the papyrus had the same text as RKMU; in the lacuna there is no room for any of the words transmitted between ἀνάγκη and πάλιν (nor for any of the conjectures).

τα: om. V against grammar (cf. 525) and metre.

598b ἀλλα. The first alpha bears an acute overwritten with an apostrophe, while the second has another acute. This seems to suggest that the scribe interpreted the *scriptio continua* either as (i) παρανεῖ πᾶλλα, or as (ii) παρανεῖτ' ἄλλα (instead of the correct παρανεῖτ' ἄλλά), and added an acute on the first alpha of ἄλλα—

a choice between (i) and (ii) on the basis of the division is impossible, cf. ταυ|ταρτι later in the line. At a later stage, he corrected his mistake by writing an apostrophe over the accent and adding another accent on the last syllable of ἄλλα. I cannot exclude that the origin of the accent on the first alpha (or the division παρανεῖ|παλλα) is an apostrophic mistaken as an accent. (For oxytones bearing an acute see J. Moore-Blunt, *QUCC* 29 (1978) 138 ff.; C. M. Mazzucchi, *Aegyptus* 59 (1979) 154 f.)

596–7 mrg. It seems that αυθιc had been omitted during copying, and was added later in the margin. There is no means of telling whether it was absent from the scribe's exemplar, and was supplied after a collation with another copy. One might think that it was written in 596, and the correction transfers it to 597; but spacing does not allow this.

600 τουτ': so RVM: ταῦτ' AKU*t*. Most editors print ταῦτ', first defended by Fritzsche. Perhaps the pronoun was thought of as referring to the preceding χρηστὸν τι, and consequently τουτ' found its way into the text.

603 κα: om. A *contra metrum*.

603b δεινον: δειν codd. The papyrus is badly rubbed after iota; nu is possible, but not secure. δεινὸν δ' ἔοικεν makes no sense, but it is not clear how δεινόν came to enter the text. It might stem from δεινόν in 592, or from misreading; but note that the papyrus shows signs of careful correction. Another possibility is that it is interpolated: δεινόν may have been influenced by the significance of the preceding βλέποντ' ὄριγανον, or it may be meant to illustrate Xanthias' emotional state following the knock on the door (604). In this case it may be worth considering the possibility of an intrusive gloss.

605 ξυθδεται. αι for ε: Gignac, *Grammar* i 193. No trace of the *paragraphos* expected between 604 and 605 is visible, but that may be due to abrasion.

637 γ': so RV: om. AKMU*t*. Metre can be of no help, but since the presence of the particle is ordinarily not in surplus in the *vetustiores*, I suppose its absence from the Palaeologian mss. should go back to a scribal omission.

638 The *paragraphos* between 637 and 638 is curious. It may be taken to indicate that the speaker beginning 638 is different from the one who speaks last in 637; the change of speakers could have taken place either at the start of 638 or within 637 (as in 632). There is no manuscript evidence for such a change (637 ff. are uniformly attributed to Xanthias). If an *antilabe* was indeed marked in the papyrus, this could have been noted after λόγος in 637. But this part of the text does not survive; and a change at this point would not be justifiable by the context (και (χρόσττερον) is also an awkward way to introduce a sentence by a new speaker). If *paragraphoi* were added at a revision stage, we may reckon that this one was misplaced (for wrongly inserted *paragraphoi* in the papyrus see Lowe, loc. cit. 32). But the fact that the next speaker change occurs only three verses later seems to speak against the possibility of a displacement.

κλαυαντα. R wrongly gives κλακοντα.

639 ηγουμαι corrected to ηγουμεν. ηγουμε easily recalls ηγομαι.

642 ημα: νὸ codd. The reading of the papyrus is unmetrical: a common banalisation, no doubt, but perhaps intrusive annotation? Note that in 637 the scribe correctly wrote νᾶν.

643 The tiny upright inserted high between ω and ε resembles the iota adscript added high in 642, although this is smaller in size. Perhaps the scribe mistakenly thought that καλῶς needed an iota adscript (by false analogy with κάλως, as in *Pax* 458?), and decided to supply it later.

644 νυν: so RVAKMU: γ' *t*.

μ' υποκινησαντ': so RAMUS (rightly): με παρα—Κε μ' ἀπο—V. παρακινεῖν is metrically unacceptable with νυν, and γ' which replaces νυν in *t* may be a metrical emendation.

After νυν there is a punctuation mark resembling a double point. It is too low in the line and compressed to be a *diacolon*, and in any case a speaker change at this point would be absurd. The papyrus is somewhat abraded, and this might explain why a low point now appears split in two. But it is higher in the line than would be expected for a normal low point. At any event, if it is indeed a low point, its purpose is dubious; does it serve as a word separator, with the role of an *hypodiastole* (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 9, 11), or is it punctuation, separating the main clause from the subordinate (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, p. 9)?

645 παταξ|ας: παράξας RΣ<sup>V</sup>: πάταξας V: πάταξας K: πάταξας' Ut: 'πάταξά ε' AM. (Dover gives πατάξας' as the reading of V; the accent is placed directly above the junction of the first alpha with tau, but it is clear that it is the antepenultimate that receives the accent.) The various readings represent diverging interpretations of the *scriptio continua*, as was first recognised by Fraenkel (*Beobachtungen zu Aristophanes* 132).

*παραξ*]αc could be resolved as either (i) *ἴπαραξ* or (ii) *ἴπαραξά c'* (*παραξ*αc would make no sense). A possible argument against (ii) is that the elision is left unmarked, but the elision has not been signalled in 599a; furthermore, it may be that the absence of the elision mark is due to the following dicolon, which might function as separator. The papyrus therefore does not preclude either reading.

A further difficulty in this verse concerns the distribution of parts to speakers. The mss. divide 645 into three parts: 1st part: Ai. VAMU: deest in RKMd; 2nd part: Xa. VAMU: Ai. RΣ<sup>KV</sup>; 3rd part: Ai. VAU: Xa. RS; Di. M. This uncertainty is apparent in the scholia too (cf. Σ<sup>R</sup> on 649 and Rutherford's note). To all appearances the papyrus' assignment of the first two speaking parts seems to be the same as in VAMU: it does not continue 645 to Xanthias, and gives him the first negative answer. But the attribution of the third part is problematic. It is not clear whether the scribe intended to write a *dicolon* (double point) or a high point (punctuation) at the end of the line. The upper point is clear. Below that is a smaller point, written further to the right and higher in the line than the lower constituents of other dicola, so that it may be thought that there is no connection between the two points. Nor can it be excluded that the lower point was added at a later stage. This uncertainty about the final punctuation makes it difficult to decide to which speaker the papyrus assigned the words *ὀδδ' ἔμοι δοκεῖc*. If a high point is admitted, the same speaker continues to the next line, and can thus be identified with Aiakos, who speaks at the start of 646. If, on the other hand, a double point is assumed, the last words of 645 are given to Dionysos, as in M.

The variation in the accentuation of *παραξ*αc and the problematic speaker distribution have given rise to a number of emendations, and widely divergent views have been expressed. For a discussion of the passage see the commentaries of Dover and Sommerstein, and R. Kassel, *RhM* 137 (1994) 46 f.

N. GONIS

## 4518. ARISTOPHANES, RANAE 1244-8, 1277-81.

64 6B.45/L(2)b

2.5 × 3.1 cm

Fifth century

A scrap of a leaf of a papyrus codex. No margins survive. There were c. 33 verses to a page, which would give a length of approximately 47 pages for the whole play. The depth of the written surface may be calculated as c. 21.3 cm. 1246, the longest in number of letters (37) of the preserved verses, would require a breadth of c. 20.2 cm. These dimensions are compatible with a codex of rather large format; with side margins measuring no less than 2 cm each the page would be at least 24 cm wide, a figure that points to codices belonging to Turner's Groups 1 and 2, cf. *Typology* 14 f. In these Groups are classified codices usually exceeding 25 cm in height. We may thus estimate that the original page dimensions were 24 + × 25 + cm.

The text was copied with a thick pen in a metal-based ink, now turned brownish in colour. The script, large, heavy, and somewhat coarse, is a congener of the class of 'sloping pointed majuscule'. A date within the fifth century may not be far off the mark; the absence of any kind of mannerism or stylization speaks against a later date. In the little that remains there is no evidence of lectional signs.

↓	→	
	]. [	πελαθε]ε[ε] επ [
1245	] ερε] [	κοπω]ν οογ [
	ληκ]υθιον γ]αρ	βου]λομαι [
	ωπε]ρ τα κυ]κα	] βουβων]ιω
	τ]α με]λη [	ετ]α[ε]υ μ[ε]λων
		1280

1244 λ]ε[λεκται not excluded.

1278 Above the first omicron what seems to be a thin grave accent, but perhaps stray ink only.

N. GONIS

## 4519-4521. ARISTOPHANES, PLUTUS

Three unpublished papyri of *Plutus* complete this section. Four papyri of the play have been published so far. There are slight overlaps of text between 4519 and XIII 1617, and between 4520 and 4521.

There are some one hundred and fifty manuscripts of *Plutus*, most of them late. Only a small fraction has been collated. Various aspects of the history of the text are touched upon by Dover, *Text*, but a systematic study remains a desideratum (the studies of M. R. Di Blasi which have appeared in *Maia* 49 (1997) 69 ff., 367 ff., although useful, rely on too small a number of manuscripts to fill the gap). Under present circumstances it is not easy to decide which manuscripts count as primary for the critical apparatus; it is also difficult to find collations of some of the manuscripts that one might suspect to be primary. I have thus decided to report only on RVAMU, as Coulon does, with the addition of *t*. Other mss. are mentioned only when they are the sole witnesses for a reading. It is hoped that this selective report does not conceal anything that would help evaluate the papyrus texts any better.

I have consulted the apparatuses of Blaydes, Velsen, and Coulon; K. v. Holzinger's *Die Aristophaneshandschriften der Wiener Hofbibliothek* (1940) and his commentary; W. J. W. Koster, *Autour d'un manuscrit d'Aristophane écrit par Démétrius Triclinius* (for the Triklinian mss.; see also N. G. Wilson, *CQ* 12 (1962) 32 ff. (on L), and S. Benardete, *HSCP* 66 (1962) 241 ff. (on Vv17)); Dover, *Text*; M. L. Chirico, *Aristofane in terra d'Otranto* (1991). I have also collated P8, P9, P19, P20, and L from the originals.

References to the scholia follow M. Chantry (1994) and (1996) for the *vetera* and the *recentiora* respectively.

4519. ARISTOPHANES, *PLUTUS* 1-16

87/112(b)

4.4 × 10.8 cm

Third century  
Plate XVI

A fragment of a roll containing verse beginnings. There is a top margin of 2.2 cm. The left-hand margin also measures 2.2 cm at its widest point. The beginnings of the verses move progressively leftward as the column descends (Maas' law: see W. A. Johnson, *ZPE* 96 (1993) 211 ff.). Three lines of obscure import are written in a tiny cursive script in the margin, starting from above the column-top and ending at the level of the first line. Back blank.

The script is a medium-sized mature 'Severe Style'. I would assign it to the early part of the third century, as a comparison with the 'more rapid and flamboyant' *GLH* 21a, dated to the first half of the third century, may suggest. The cursive hand of the marginalia also points to a third century date. The scribe's peculiarities include δ with very broad base and (once) initial loop, ξ with a comma-shaped medial stroke, and the gentle leftward curvature of most descenders. The first two letters of ν. ι are made larger than is usual in the rest of the text; on the practice of enlarging the initial letter of the first line of a column see *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> p. 7 and n. 25. The scribe wrote a rough breathing twice (ι, ρ) and a smooth once (ζ), uniformly in Turner's form ι. No other diacriticals are in evidence.

This is one of the very few papyri preserving the beginning of a work of literature. As in most of them, there is no preliminary material written above the first line, which is at column-top. (The hardly legible jottings to the left of the column do not seem to have any relation with what could be considered as introductory material.) There is no way of knowing whether a title or anything else was written in the space before the column. On beginnings of papyri carrying dramatic texts see W. E. H. Cockle, *Euripides: Hypsipyle* 219 ff.; on book titles see *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> pp. 13 f. and nn. 70 and 72, and G. Bastianini, 'Tipologie dei rotoli e problemi di ricostruzione', *Papyrologica Lupiensia* 4 (1996) 26 ff.

With the exception of a mistake in ζ, probably a scribal error, there is no point of textual interest in our papyrus.

]ρα.ϛ̄ η̄ντ̄ς[ ] .

]ϛ̄ η̄ν̄ καῑρα[ ]ν

]σᾱ τ̄ω̄ βο̄τ. [ ] .

Top

ὤε̄ ἀργα[λεον

δουλον [

ἦν̄ γαρ [

δοξ̄αῑ δ[ε̄

5

μετεχε[ω

τοῡ σω̄μα[τος

κρατεῑν [

καῑ ταν[τα

δε̄ θε̄σπ[ιωδει

10

μεμφ[ω

ιατρο̄ς ω[ν

μελαγχ[ολωντ

ο]ςτῑς ακ[ολουθει

το]νναν[τιον

15

οι] γαρ̄ βλ[εποντες

οῡτο]ς [

mrg. The import of the *marginalia* is obscure. There is a numeral in the first line, but I cannot make out much else. Some suprascript horizontals apparently indicate abbreviations, and perhaps they stand for final nus. I have considered whether they may carry introductory material, but have not found any clue in the scholia. It may be that they bear no relation to the text.

4 δοξ̄αῑ: δὲξ̄η̄ codd. The papyrus' reading mars the grammar. A scribal blunder is possible.

5 χ corrected from ι.

N. GONIS

4520. ARISTOPHANES, *PLUTUS* 635-679, 698-738

66 6B.4/D(1)a

10.5 × 27.8 cm

Fifth century

A leaf from a papyrus codex. The ink has faded badly, especially on the → side, and in places the matching of the traces with the letters expected to be there is very uncertain. Lower margins are apparently wholly preserved, and measure 2.8 cm on the ↓ side and 3.8 cm on the →. The left-hand margin of the ↓ amounts to 3 cm; on the → the right-hand margin is 4.3 cm at its narrowest point. The lower part of the left-hand edge of the ↓ page looks straight enough to have been close to the break down the central fold of the sheet.

There were 59 lines on the → side, but probably one or two fewer on the ↓. Assuming 58-59 lines to a page, the whole work would have been contained in 21 pages. With this format the play could not have begun at the top of a page; compare XI 1373. 58 lines would have occupied a depth of c. 30.6 cm on the ↓ side; on the → for 59 lines the column-height would be 29.5 cm. Assuming that the ratio of the lower margin to the upper was the customary 3:2 (cf. Turner, *Typology* 25), the upper margin



of the → would measure about 2.5 cm. The height of the codex could then be calculated at c. 35.9 cm. The breadth of the original page would be no less than 18.7 cm. It seems that the codex was more or less twice as tall as it was wide; the original sheet, before folding, will have been nearly square. Very tall codices are usually taken to belong to Turner's Group 1; none of its representatives, however, as listed in *Typology* 14–5, fall below 20 cm in width (this figure is the result of reconstruction; the narrowest preserved width measures 21.5 cm). But of course 18.7 cm is a minimum estimate. There is also proximity to some of the aberrants of Group 3 (*ibid.* 16), namely those with dimensions  $18/9 \times 33/4$  cm.

The hand is a small informal one with occasional cursive tendencies. Letter-shape and size vary considerably at times. The second, correcting, hand (see below) shows no more pretensions to formality. The general character of both would suit a date in the fifth century. They seem contemporary with *GBEPP* 20b = *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 23 (2nd half of v c., as assigned by Cavallo-Maehler).

The text has received extensive *diorthosis*. It must have been the work of a separate *diorthotes*, as indicated by the difference in the colour of the ink (the copyist used a metallic ink now turned brown, while the corrector employed one that is still black), as well as in letter forms. On *diorthosis* in literary papyri see K. McNamee, *Proc. XVI Int. Congr. Pap.* (1981) 79 ff.

Breathings and accents are added in most possible instances, chiefly by the second hand. All accents are represented. Notable are the combinations of the smooth breathing with the circumflex in 644 and 734 (the circumflex is written to the right of the breathing). The grave accents are employed in much the same way as they are from the fifth century onwards, cf. C. M. Mazzucchi, *Aegyptus* 59 (1979) 147. They are not placed on monosyllables, nor over all polysyllabic oxytones; this was virtually the rule, cf. J. Moore-Blunt, *QUCC* 29 (1978) 148. The *diorthotes* added a few elision marks that the copyist had missed, and corrected some orthographical slips. Despite the revision, there is a wrongly placed accent (acute for circumflex in 651, but perhaps what we see now is the left-hand part of a pointed circumflex), and one instance of *scriptio plena* (*Δία* in 657). Another uncorrected error seems to have been overlooked in 653 (*τιαχικρα*), but perhaps the iota following tau is only an offset. Prodelision (647) is effected, but left unmarked. Crasis is noted by the scribe in 664 and the corrector in 672: the scribe used an apostrophe; the corrector employed a short horizontal, which he placed below the smooth breathing (a *longum*, to show that the syllable is made long by crasis?). Iota adscript is written superscript in 645, 710, and 716, by the corrector, and is omitted in 658 (possibly also in 708). Diaeresis is written twice over ι, once to avoid reading the sequence υι as a diphthong (710), the other to mark the beginning of the second element of a compound (738), and once over υ at the beginning of a word (735), perhaps to avoid reading it with the preceding consonant (the elision mark which should have been placed between them is omitted). Speaker changes are signalled by *dicola* and *paragaphoi*; most of them are added by the first hand, but a few are in black ink, indicative of the

corrector's pen. The corrector also added a forked paragraphos between 664 and 665 (see note below).

The codex also received some annotation; there are glosses in 720 and 729, and a variant in 729. Both *diorthosis* and annotation seem to have been effected by the same hand (the same black ink), but this is not entirely certain. There is nothing to suggest that they should be associated with the stages of the production of the codex, and were not the work of the owner (on the issue see McNamee, *MC* 18; *Proc. XVI Cong. Pap.* 80); after all, that was an age when readers often copied their books, cf. *GBEPP* pp. 3 f. Evidence of revision, often proving collation with another copy, and the presence of philological *sigla* have been thought to indicate books belonging to scholars (E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri*<sup>2</sup> 92 ff.). But the shortcomings noticed above do not seem compatible with a 'scholar's text'. Instead, the abundant accentuation may suggest a close affiliation with the school, cf. R. Criboire, *Writers, Teachers and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (1996) 85.

One other fragment of a papyrus codex of *Plutus* assigned to the fifth century was found in Oxyrhynchus and published as XIII 1617. Unfortunately, neither the original nor a photograph of this papyrus now exist. The two papyri share the extensive *diorthosis* carried out in black ink, the numerous breathings and accents, and the annotation. But we are probably dealing with two different codices, since the number of lines to a page in 1617 varies between 28–31 (its dimensions have been reconstructed at  $17 \times 30$  cm, see Turner, *Typology* 103).

The papyrus presents a new reading in 641 and (probably) 715, and omits a line (648) attested in all other manuscripts; there is possibly another new reading in 707. None of the novelties improves the transmitted text. Notable also are the variant in 720, and the agreement (in error) with two *recentiores* in 712, and with P20<sup>ac</sup> in 738. In general, the text of the papyrus shows no consistent support for a single ms. or group of mss.

Owing to the bad state of preservation of the papyrus, a diplomatic transcript precedes the articulated.



641 αρ[ε]α. The reading is not entirely certain: the trace of the putative α does not exactly match the regular shape of the letter elsewhere; the next letter looks like τ at first glance, but ρ is possible, if the horizontal trace on top of the upright is taken to be the lower part of the circler of ρ (it is not γ).

641 αρ[ε]α: ἀρά γ' ἀγγέλλεται R: ἀρ' ἀγγέλει Vbz: ἀρά γ' ἀγγέλλεται M: ἀρά γ' ἀγγέλει VAU: ἀρ' ἀγγέλλεται Porson codd. The papyrus seems to offer a new reading, a form of πράττω, although not preserved in its entirety. By analogy with R we may try to restore πράττε[ται]. But another alternative, πράττε[τε], is perhaps more attractive: the change of ἀρεπρ[α]ττε[ι] to ἀραπρ[α]ττε[ι] may suggest that πράττετε (present) was misunderstood or miscopied as ἐπράττετε (imperfect), and this was made good by the correcting hand.

Both πράττεται and πράττετε would be metrical, and for the phrase one could adduce Pl. 341 χρῆσθόν τε πράττων, or Men. fr. 534 and Mon. 868 χρῆσθὰ πράττειν (cf. also Eq. 811 πεποηκότα ... χρῆσθὰ). But neither seems to suit the situation. Since Chremylos' wife appears to be interested in the chorus' βοή, πράττεται seems less to the point than ἀγγέλλεται. With πράττετε, i.e. a second person plural, there is a further difficulty: she must be addressing the chorus, but there is no indication elsewhere that she talks to them at all (Karion is the carrier of the news, which is already known to her, cf. Holzinger's note). Either alternative may therefore be dismissed in favour of ἀγγέλλεται. It is not clear how the papyrus' reading arose; the medieval tradition is unanimous in offering a form of ἀγγέλλω. I do not think it likely that it was a purely graphic error (ΔΓΓΕ misread as ΑΤΤΕ). Perhaps the scribe introduced a form of πράττω under the influence of constructions of χρῆσθὰ with this verb. For a discussion of the other mss. readings see van Leeuwen, introd. to the facsimile of *Ravennas* p. xiv; Holzinger ad loc.; Dover, *Text* 235.

[648] This verse is absent from the papyrus, but is not reported to be missing from any other manuscript. The omission is probably a simple mechanical error: εἰσιν occupies the same position in 648 and 649, and the scribe may have strayed from one to the other (*saut du même au même*). I do not think that there is any inherent ground for the omission; without 648, 649 seems rather up in the air. It is notable that the corrector did nothing to make the omission good. If the diorthosis was made by consulting another manuscript, was the collation copy defective at this point?

This omission acquires special interest in view of Σ *rec.* 641a, according to which the number of verses in the scene beginning with 641 and ending with 770 equals 129 iambic trimeters: οἱ δὲ στίχοι λαμβάνουσι τριμέτροι ἀκατάληκτοι ρκθ'. However, 130 verses are transmitted. The scholion is Triklinos, cf. Koster, *Aiōnos d'ien manusōti* 119, 129 ff., but it cannot be ruled out that its source was ancient. Opinions about the origin of this discrepancy are split. It has been thought to reflect either a simple error in counting or a manuscript which did in fact contain one verse less. The omission of 712 in R (see the note below) came in handy for those holding the latter view. The fact that we now have an ancient copy of *Plutus* short of one line may indicate that more copies sharing the same defect circulated in antiquity. This makes it all the more likely that the scholion derives from a faulty manuscript; which line was dropped in the metricalian's copy it is not possible to guess.

650 ]ε: εἰc AU: ἐc rell. We find εἰc in the next verse, and this may be what the papyrus had. It is not easy to decide which reading to adopt. In 651 the same phrase appears, but the context is different; there ἐc τὴν κεφαλὴν has been thought to be an 'imprécation de forme fixe' (Koster, op. cit. 241). Coulon has argued that in such set phrases ἐc should be preferred, see 4516 1669 n. Here Karion does not use the collocation in the same sense as the stock phrase. But he probably makes a pun on the set phrase, and perhaps his pun would not have been so much to the point, if he had used εἰc. The latter would be preferable if this play on words had not existed. For a strong view in favour of reading εἰc in all spoken parts of Comedy cf. C. F. L. Austin, *CQ* NS 23 (1973) 133.

651 ]ε: so U: ἐc rell. Triklinos preferred to make a distinction between the two forms and keep ἐc only here. For the reasons stated in the previous note I would again favour the idea that Aristophanes wrote ἐc.

653 ἀφικόμεθα: so codd. plerique: ἀφικόμεθα R (unmetrical).  
658 λιουμένος: so R'VAM: λουόμενος R'U. I restore *εξεπλήστρια*. λουόμενος is a mere banalisation. The Atticists condemned the use of λουόμενος, cf. the scholion ad loc. and Moeris s.v.

660 ποπταν[α]. The scribe initially wrote ποπαπανα, a dittography, and the corrector deleted the first alpha. I think he must have cancelled also the preceding pi, i.e. the text after his intervention would have been πο[π]α[π]α. But this pi is mostly broken, and no trace of the corrector's pen survives.

661 πελαγός: so R: πέλαγος rell. The accent was apparently disputed in antiquity. Herodian (1.178) makes the word oxytone, and it is written so in this papyrus, and by implication in the papyrus of Herondas

4.91 πλανων (the grave indicates that the accent should not fall on the antepenultimate). But medieval manuscripts often make it proparoxytone, cf. Fraenkel on A. Ag. 96.

662 κατεκλιόμεν RVM: κατεκλιόμεν AUS.

664-5 mrg. The *siglum* in the left-hand margin opposite the line-space between 664 and 665 seems to be a forked *ραταγραφή*. This is suggested by a trace in black ink visible further to the right and at the same level as the branches that we see to the left. The reason for its presence here may be to set off the major speech that follows.

665 με[ν]: so codd. plerique: μέντοι V. Spacing excludes that the metrically impossible μέντοι was written on the papyrus.

668 απ[ι]: ἀποβέας codd. plerique: ἀποβέαι R, a mere scribal slip.

669 π[α]ρρηγγε[ι]ν. I restore the correct form with RAMI by reason of space; VUK omit the nu chphelkystikon to the detriment of the metre. But with a handwriting as irregular as this considerations of space may well be misleading.

670 πρόπο[λο]ς: so R: πρόπολος VAMU. Eustathius, *In Od.* 1560.16 quotes πρόπολος from this play. The metre would allow either form here. The sense also is not decisive: in E. *Cyc.* both forms appear in accordance with the requirements of the metre: πρόπολος in 76, but προσπόλος in 83 with reference to the Satyrs, servants of the Cyclops. But Aristophanes uses πρόπολος in two other passages, where it is metrically guaranteed: in *Nu.* 436 (v.l. πρόπο-) for the ministers of the Clouds, and in fr. 705.3 for the minister of Phoibos.

672 ξδονά[μ]ην: so RAU: ξδονάμην VM contra metrum.

673 αθα[ρ]α: c. ἀθάρα MUISV: ἀθάρα RVAΣR. Cf. ΣV Ἀττικοὶ διὰ τοῦ η, ἀθάρα, ἡ δὲ κοινὴ διὰ τοῦ α, ἀθάρα.

700-2 Only the most meagre traces of ink are preserved on the rubbed surface. The restored text rests largely on considerations of space.

705 εϋ: om. U.

707 εϋθυς: ἐγὼ μὲν εϋθυς V: εϋθυς ἐγὼ μὲν RAMU. The word-order in manuscripts other than V mars the metre; its origin is a simple transposition, cf. Koster, op. cit. 185. The papyrus had the correct word-order.

νεκα[λ]υ[μ]ήμην[ε]ν: ἐνεκαλυμμένη RVP20: συνεκαλυμμένη AMU. The doubtful letter cannot without difficulty be read as ε. The lower traces would suggest α; but the upper trace, if not delusory, seems not to suit that, though it may be consistent with the right-hand part of the cap of ε. If the papyrus had αν-, that is a new reading, but corrupt (it would be senseless in the context). If it had εν-, it preserves the correct text. ἐνεκαλυμμένη is guaranteed by ἐγκεκαλιφθαί in 714. συνεκαλυμμένη, which mars the metre, may stem from a misdivision of the scriptio continua. P<sub>8</sub> reads εϋθυ συνεκαλυμμένη; if it does not derive from a Byzantine emendation, as Koster thought (op. cit. 18, 214), it may hark back to the initial stage of the corruption. It is worth mentioning that Blaydes reports that G reads ἀνεκαμύμην. G is a copy of V and usually has no independent value for the text. If Blaydes is to be trusted, the reading is curious, especially if the papyrus had ἀνεκαλυμμένη.

710 θυδίων: so R: θειδίων rell. Etymologically we expect θειδίων from original θειία (Kühner-Blass, *Grammatik* II 278), and some ancient authorities recognised this (Herodian 2.457.18). But θυδίων is transmitted by Pollux (10.103) and the *Suda* (θ 540; [v.l. -ειδ-]). We should probably prefer the etymological spelling; -ιδίων may be a plain iotacistic error, or reflect the alternative spelling θυία.

712 το κ[α]β[ω]στ[ι]ον[ε]ν: so O<sub>4</sub>W<sub>2</sub>: τό γε κιβώστιον codd. The omission of the particle is unmetrical. The agreement of these two *testes* with the papyrus is interesting; but it may only be a coincidence.

715 ]εϋ: εἶχεν οὐκ ὄλιγας Vε: οὐκ ὄλιγας εἶχε (-εν U) RAMU. Only the word order of Vε preserves the metre. What I read on the papyrus does not match either transmitted version, and the trace before εν is too small to give a further clue; at times I thought I could see the top of a rising oblique, which would suit χ, but this is far from certain. Perhaps we should reckon with a simple mistake and restore ε[ι]χεν(ι)ν (cf. τ[ι]χιστα in 653), unless the scribe wrote εχεν (transposition). In any case, the word order of the papyrus was not that of Vε.

717 ]εμβαλων: so RAMU (correctly): ἐκβαλων V.

720 mrg. δρυμν[α]τω. Cf. ΣR (...) τῷ δρυμν[α]τω, and Hesychius, s.v. ὄξος Σφήγγιον, ἦγον δρυμ[ν].

721 εκ[ε]: ἐκτρέβας RV: ἐκτρέβας AMU. Editorial preferences are at variance. A. v. Bamberg, *Exercitationes criticae in Aristophanis Plutuo* (1869) 4 and van Leeuwen defend ἐκτρέβας; contra Holzinger and many before him.

724 κατα[π]ε[π]λαμένον: κατα· om. V unmetrically.

725 τα[ι] so RVM<sup>2</sup>U: τῆς AM<sup>1</sup>L. 725 after Coulon runs ἵν' ἐπομύμενον παύσω ἐε τὰς ἐκκλησίας. The genitive, which can only be associated with παύσω, creates difficulty with the syntax, and gives inferior sense. That παύσω may have triggered the corruption cannot be excluded. (I rule out that the papyrus had ταῖς ἐκκλησίας, raised to the status of a *varia lectio* by Bergk on the false presumption that it is attested in the scholia.)

727 Πλοῦτων: so codd. Meinecke's Πλούτω 'τι (= ἐτι), adopted by Coulon, is unfortunate, cf. Holzinger ad loc.

729 ἡμισύ[μ]βιον: so RVM<sup>1</sup>U: ἡμισύβιον M<sup>2</sup>LΣ<sup>83</sup>. The papyrus testifies that the corruption had already taken place in antiquity. According to Pollux, 7.71 the word is of Egyptian origin; but this may simply mean that its origin was obscure. The word is found spelt as ἡμισύμβιον also in other authors, perhaps under the influence of τύμβος, ἐπιτύμβιον, etc. For LSJ s.v. 'probably this form is due to the copyists, who wished to find a meaning in the word', but this statement is perhaps too restrictive. ἡμισύμβιον was treated as a word in its own right, and interpretations of it can be found in the *Suda* (η 353) and other lexica.

mg. ἡμισύβιον βράκοςη. . . The correct form is written in the margin, not as a *varia lectio* but introducing a gloss; cf. Σ vel 729 ἡ βράκος ἡμισυβίε. ἡμι[τ]ριβίε cannot be confirmed from the traces. (βράκος was suggested by Dr. Rea.)

736 [ω] γέ μοι[ι] ὡς γέ μοι RM<sup>2</sup>Σ<sup>Alh</sup>: ὡς γ' ἐμοί V: ὡςτ' ἐμοί AM<sup>1</sup>U: ὡς ἐμοί P20. ὡςτ' has its root in a common graphic error.

738 δέσπον[γ] ἀνεστήκει: δέσπων' ἀνεστήκει P20<sup>85</sup>; δέσπων' ἀνεστήκει RVKVB3: →' ἐστήκει Np1: →νά γ' ἐστήκει AFMUVSIΘ. ἀνεστη[ει] is a phonetic version of ἀνεστήκει; it is curious that the corrector left the iotacism unchanged, whereas all other errors of this type have been corrected. The papyrus thus confirms the antiquity of the reading of P20<sup>85</sup>, adopted by most editors following a correction of Meineke—the results of Koster's collation of P20 became known only in the 1950s (Blaydes reports that O3 and Ld4 offer ἀνεστήκει; I have not seen Ld4, but O3 has γ' ἐστήκει).

N. GONIS

⚭

#### 4521. ARISTOPHANES, *PLUTUS* 687–705, 726–31, 957–70

Fr. 1 A 168/2(e)+65 6B.30/M(2)a

Fr. 1 5.2 × 9.9 cm

Second century

Fr. 2 65 6B.30/M(2)a

Plate XVI

Fr. 3 1 1B.210/G(c)

Three (fr. 1 is made up of two contiguous pieces) fragments of what used to be an elegant roll. As the different inventory numbers indicate, they were not discovered together; but we know from Grenfell and Hunt's diaries that in their sixth excavation season they returned to the mounds partly dug up in the first (this point will be discussed in a forthcoming paper by Dr R. A. Coles). FR. 1 and 3 preserve c. 4 cm of the intercolumnium; fr. 2 has 1.7 cm of the top margin extant. The writing is along the fibres. The back is blank.

Twenty verses separate the end of fr. 1 (706; the last preserved verse is 705, but there is a trace of marginal annotation opposite the place where 706 should have stood) from the beginning of fr. 2 (726), which is a column top. These twenty verses, or at least part of them, either (i) formed one column, or (ii) belonged to the column from which fr. 1 comes. If (i), the written height would be c. 10 cm; the height of the roll would hardly be more than 15 cm and the papyrus would be classified among those of

'small format'. E. G. Turner (XLI 2944 introd.) remarks that this format was used in the first and second centuries for copying poetry; of the examples he adduces none can be dated after the early decades of the second century (see also *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 21, 39, 41; LIV 3725). Turner also suggests that this format is rather suitable for 'de luxe' rolls. Our papyrus has no less luxurious pretensions than the examples he cites, but it should be noted that all hitherto published annotated papyri are of a more or less 'standard' format. (The most recent discussion of the issue of 'pocket rolls' is by W. A. Johnson, *The Literary Papyrus Roll* (Diss. Yale 1992) 235 and n. 44.) If we opt for (ii), it follows that fr. 1 and 2 belong to two consecutive columns. Fr. 1 comes from a column that contained at least 39 verses (687–725). If we assume that the full height of a column averaged 38 verses, so that 687 stood at or very near the top, 1–686 would fit neatly into eighteen columns, and fr. 1 and 2 would originally belong to the 19th and the 20th columns, with the whole play occupying no fewer than 32 columns. Written height could be calculated at c. 19 cm (on average letter-height and interlinear space are 2 and 3 mm respectively). Allowing at least 6 cm for upper and lower margins together, the height of the roll would then be at least 25 cm, which is fairly common, cf. W. A. Johnson, *CP* 88 (1993) 47. Supposing that throughout the roll intercolumnia had the same width, which never fell below 4 cm, and that the maximum line-length was c. 9.5 cm, the length of the roll may be estimated to be at least 4.30 m. But of course all these calculations assume the minimum possible column-height; other arrangements would easily be possible (e.g. 40 lines per column gives a neat result too, 1–724 = 18 columns).

The papyrus is written in a medium, upright, rounded hand, generally bilinear. Thin horizontals contrast with thick uprights and (sometimes) obliques. There is rich ornamentation in the form of hooks or blobs. The crossbars of ε and θ are usually extended to the right; υ, made in a single stroke, has a looped base; φ has its bowl diamond-shaped. The script is assignable to the second century, perhaps around its middle. One may adduce for comparison *GLH* 11b (AD 94), although the presence of shading here points to a later date. The marginal notes are written in a smallish book hand, which may well be that of the original scribe. The formal handwriting of the *marginalia* is exceptional. McNamee cites only four papyri written before the third century and annotated in such book-hands; like our piece, these papyri were provided with generous margins too (*MC* 10).

The scribe added a rough breathing (Turner's form 3) (963), an acute accent (694), and a high point (965). He used systematically, but not fully, *dicola* at verse-ends to designate changes of speaker. Elision, where required, is marked by apostrophe. Iota adscript is not written in one case (692), whereas in another case its addition may be inferred (see 727 n.).

This papyrus is the earliest annotated manuscript of Aristophanes. There is no way of knowing whether the scribe copied the whole play first, leaving generous space

between columns, perhaps with a view to the subsequent marginal additions, as e.g. in V 841 (Pindar, *Paean*), or wrote the annotations before proceeding to copy the next column. In the latter case we may think of an exemplar equipped with marginal notes. As for their ultimate source, this is likely to have been an hypomnema. The three-line note on 701 ff., as well as the discursive nature of the comment on 959 (and possibly 690), presuppose something more extensive than a simple glossary. Like most of the annotated papyri of Aristophanes, some of the notes show affinities to the medieval scholia. It is also to be noted that marginalia of similar length are rather unusual at so early a date, cf. McNamee, *MC* 190.

Another interesting feature of the papyrus is the assignments of lines to speakers. In both cases that these are preserved (959, 965), they are not made in the customary way of inserting a (usually abbreviated) *nota personae* in the left-hand margin. Instead, they appear as notes in the right-hand margin, and thus appear to be part of the annotation rather than conventional *notae personarum*. This practice is very little in evidence in the papyri (mostly in cases of *antilabe* within the same verse, cf. W. Schubart, *Das Buch*<sup>3</sup> 79), but finds parallels in the Byzantine scholia. There the discussions on correct part assignments indicate that 'the attribution of words to speakers was from the first treated by ancient commentators as a matter of interpretation, open to debate in any given case' (Dover, *Text* 254).

This is the oldest manuscript of *Plutus* to be published. The text offers variants (one unique at 967) and a speaker attribution (965) not generally accepted. There is a slight coincidence between fr. 2 and part of 4520.

## Fr. 1

προυδιδ]α[ξ]ατο  
 μ]ον τον[  
 690 κυριξ]ας εγω  
 ω]ν οφικ οδ[  
 α]νεσπας[εν . . [ c. 5]. [c. 4 ]δουγε . [ ]  
 ]ε' ηκυχη  
 δριμυ]τερον γαληκ  
 πολ]λην εφλων αντ(ι του) εθλων  
 695 ]ομην ημην  
 ο]υδεπω  
 δ]ητα τι  
 ]μεγα παν[υ  
 επε]φυσητο μ[ου

700 εβδ]ελυττε[το  
 ακολουθο]υε' αμα |αυται Ασκληπιου  
 απεσ]τραφη |κ(αι) η Πανακεια[  
 λιβανωτ]ον γαρ βδεω |ι απο της ιατρ[ικης  
 εφρ]οντιεν |ατημελ[  
 705 τ]ον θεο[ιν |.  
 |.]

690–1 mrg. We have beginnings of two lines of annotation. The second line might either continue the first, or represent a separate note (on 691). The sinuous horizontal which runs between the beginnings of the lines might serve to mark the separation. οδ[ at least should refer to 690. There δδδξ: ελαβόμεν and παρείας δφικ are glossed in the extant scholia. Likeliest perhaps is that οδ[ refers to δδδξ: οδ[οντι or some other form of δδδξ? In 691 the only word that has attracted comment is ανέσπασεν, but what the scholia give is of no help in recovering what the papyrus offered.

692 ]ε': ενυλξας' RAMU: συνυλξας' V, which is not very appropriate.

694 mrg. αντ(ι του) εθλων. Cf. Σ vel. 694a αντι του ηεθλον; 694b και γαρ φλυν τὰ θλυν.

It is not clear whether the abbreviation employed, αντ', stands for αντ(ι) or αντ(ι του). αντ', accompanied or not by του, is standard in commentators' jargon for '(this word is used) instead of' (E. G. Turner, *MH* 33 (1976) 5), as a means of introducing a gloss. It is well represented in the papyri, and of course in the scholia of the Byzantine manuscripts. It occurs in both hypomnemata and marginal notes, in most cases written in shortened form, usually as α' or α' or αν', cf. K. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri* s.vv. αντι, αντι του. I have not found this particular abbreviation elsewhere. The short sinuous stroke placed high after τ appears regularly in documentary writing to mark a suspension, regardless of what letters are actually omitted at the word-end; for examples in the annotation of literary texts see McNamee, op. cit. xvi.

695 ]ομην: ανεπανόμην MUR<sup>7P</sup> V<sup>7P</sup>: ανεπαλλόμεν RV. There is no way of knowing the papyrus' reading. ανεπαλλόμεν probably stems from a graphic mistake.

695 mrg. ημην is a gloss for ην; cf. Σ vel. 29a αντι του ημην αττικώς (similarly on 77). On the gradual replacement of ην by ημην from the Hellenistic period onwards see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri* §§ 103, 109. Remarkably, the gloss is not preceded by αντι (του).

697 δ]ητα: om. V contra metrum.

701 ff. mrg. The note is mutilated and its interpretation is puzzling. No more than two letters were lost from the beginning of each line, but the amount of text lost to the right is impossible to estimate precisely. But if my speculations below have any chance of being right, the break to the right must have taken away at least ten letters.

The first word of the marginalia, αυται, should refer to the female deities appearing in the temple, Iaso and Panakeia. What follows should be a comment on their association, or perhaps family connection, with Asklepios. For example, αυται Ασκληπιου θυγατέρες, possibly accompanied by a verb such as λέγονται; for the wording cf. Σ vel. 701c θυγατέρες Ασκληπιου Ίασώ, Πανάκεια και Ίγεία. In the second line κ(αι) perhaps connects Panakeia with Iaso (or Hygieia, her other sister, who does not appear in the temple scene but is mentioned in the scholia); but this is only a possibility.

In the third line ιατ [ , given the context, recalls words such as ιατρος or ιατρικη; we might restore από της ιατρ[ικης. The scholia mention that Iaso was not considered as Asklepios' daughter in Aristophanes' *Amphitruos*, and stress that her association with Asklepios relies on the etymological implications of her name; Σ vel. 701d α. has παρά τὸ ἰαθεῖν, whereas 701d β. gives παρά τὴν ἰακὴν ἀνομασίαν. It may thus be that this note is of etymological nature, and ιατ [ could refer to Iaso, although in that case ἰακὴν or ἰαθεῖν would be preferable; but there is no way of determining whether it contained any reference to the problems regarding Iaso's relation with Asklepios. The verb of the sentence, which is broken away, possibly preceded από; ]ι might be the last letter of a verb-ending (third person singular/plural). On the assumption that etymology

was highlighted, perhaps ἀνάμικτα]ι (cf. above Σ *vet.* 701d β) or κέκλητα]ι or something similar in sense should be understood. It is also noticeable that the reference to Iaso is at the end of the note, as in the scholia.

703 Ink is discernible above the end of omega, but I am not clear as to whether it is a high point, which would normally be expected a little further to the right, or stray ink.

704 εφρ]ουτιζει: so RUV: -ε Α.

705 mrg. ]ατημελ[. Probably ]ἀτημελ[ῆ or ]ἀτημέλ[ητον, glossing ἄγρικον (but forms in the nominative cannot be ruled out). These words first appear in classical poetry (Aeschylus, Euripides), but are also widely distributed in the prose writers of the Roman period. I have not found this gloss in the transmitted scholia nor elsewhere in the lexicographic tradition.

## Fr. 2

(Γορ)

τ]ις εσθ' ]

ταυτ]α τω[ι] Πλουτ]ωνι

πρωτ]α μεν δη τη[ς

καθα]ρον ημιτ]υβιον

730 βλεφαρ]α περιεψ]ης[εν

κατεπετ]αε' αυτου τη[ν

727 ταυτ]α: so V: τοῦτο RAMU cdd. Editors have favoured τοῦτο. But cf. V. Bers, *Greek Poetic Syntax in the Classical Age* (1984) 22: 'μετά δὲ ταῦτα occurs far more often than μετά τοῦτο'. The same disagreement among the mss. is also observed in 678, but note that in 697 V reads τοῦτο with the rest of the mss. In 707 all mss. read μετά ταῦτα.

τω[ι]: The amount of space in the lacuna indicates that iota adscript must have been written.

728 δη: om. R *contra metrum*.

731 ]αε': κατεπέτας' AMU cdd.: κατέπασ' R: κατέπασ' V. καταπεάννυμι is the only verb that could be used with a φωνικός. V's reading might derive from καταπλαστών in 716. The reading of R is unmetrical.

## Fr. 3

πονηρ]ου [κομ]μα[τος

]ξη τον θεον'

]

οι]κιαν γραυς εστι η λεγουσα

τουτ]ου θεου προς τον χορον

960 ημ]αρτηκαμεν:

] αφιγμενη

] ωρικως: αυτ(ι του) κατ]α καιρον

κ]αλεω τινα:

εξε]ληλυθα' ο θεραπων

965 λ]εγειν εχρηη  
παρ]αν]ομα φιλτατε967 ] . [ ]  
] . [ ] .  
] βιον

969 κυκ]οφαντ]ρια

970

958 ]ξη: προσέξη VAMUS: προσδέξη R. προσέξη is expected after Dikaios made clear his objective in 827–8 saying πρὸς τὸν θεὸν | προσεξόμενος ἦκα. Another supporting factor is that the rare construction of προσεξομαι with the accusative seems to have attracted the attention of grammarians, as emerges from Thomas Magister and the *Suda* (π 2654).

958a There is a blank space separating 958 from 959. 958 represents the end of an act and 959 the beginning of another. We may think that some sort of distinction was intended here. It is equally possible, however, that something was written in the part now lost (our fragment preserves only line-ends). The manuscripts of the Triklinian recension (and no other manuscripts, see Koster, *Aulour d'un manuscrit* 121 ff.) here have ΧΟΡΟΥ, while the Triklinian scholion on 850 testifies to the presence of ΧΟΡΟΥ at this point. ΧΟΡΟΥ is written at act-endings in almost all mss. of *Plutus*, though not consistently. It thus appears likely that ΧΟΡΟΥ was written in our papyrus, which becomes the oldest manuscript of Aristophanes to attest it.

The insertion of ΧΟΡΟΥ between acts is a well documented practice in papyri carrying dramatic texts, especially of New Comedy, from the third century BC onwards (for a discussion of the papyrological evidence see E. Pöhlmann, *WJA* nr 3 (1979) 69 ff.; for the issue of the Chorus in fourth century Comedy see K. S. Rothwell, *GRBS* 33 (1993) 209 ff. with bibliography). According to the *Vita*, Aristophanes put in ΧΟΡΟΥ to rest the actors and allow for mask-changing (Test. I 52 ff. K–A; the apparatus of K–A cites further evidence). If the information supplied by the *Vita* is reliable, we have good reason to believe that ΧΟΡΟΥ was regularly written in *Plutus* papyri.

ΧΟΡΟΥ must have been positioned in the middle of the line (written without spaces?) as is usually the case. It is improbable that the less frequently attested ΧΟΡΟΥ ΜΕΛΟC was written; otherwise the last letters of ΜΕΛΟC might have survived.

959 mrg. Compare Σ<sup>V2</sup> πρὸς τὸν χορὸν τῶν γερόντων ἡ γράβει; it is an easy assumption that the transmitted scholion recalls a tradition to which the papyrus' annotation belongs. For the wording cf. also Σ *vet.* on 222: πρὸς τὸν θεράποντά φησι (τὸ ἴδιον). XXXV 2741 1c ii 6–7 (Eup. fr. 192.149 f.) (πρὸς τ[ὸν] δεσπότην ὁ Ὑπέρολος) allows us to assert that this type of attribution goes back to ancient commentaries. Cf. also 4508 10–11.

That the speaker is noted here conforms to the convention of identifying a new speaker on his/her first appearance, cf. J. C. B. Lowe, *BICS* 9 (1962) 30.

963 mrg. The traces permit restoring κατ]ὰ καιρόν, which is one of the glosses the scholia (963d) and the *Suda* (ω 622) offer for ὠρικώς. LSJ s.v. καιρός III render κατὰ καιρόν as 'at the proper time'; but it is doubtful whether this is the most appropriate interpretation. LSJ s.v. ὠρικώς II translate 'so maidenly, so prettily', which is slightly odd, since elsewhere the point is youth and ripeness, as c.g. at *Ach.* 272 ὠρικῆν δληφόρον. There must be a pun in the passage. The chorus after calling the γράβει a μειρακίση continues with πυνθάνει γὰρ ὠρικώς. This may be taken to mean (a) you ask the question opportunely (since you have in fact arrived); or (b) you ask the question like a fine young girl (but she is a γράβει). (b) is preferable in terms of comic effect, in its comically inappropriate application to a γράβει. This is more or less the sense of νεωτερικώς, another of the glosses (963a); cf. also the elaborate *scholia recentiora* (963d).

965 mrg. ο θεραπων. As the attribution is part of the annotation, a more elaborate construction is preferred. Compare PBodmer XXVIII ii 20 (cd. E. G. Turner, *MH* 32 (1975) 1 ff.), where ο ασλας is written in the right-hand margin; for the use of the article cf. also M. Dylsk. 189 (left margin in PBodmer IV η κορη θυγατηρ κνημ. θεραπων is employed of Karion with varying degrees of frequency in AMdiNp1V81 (Dover, *Text* 260).

The papyrus coincides with RV in assigning this verse to Karion, whereas AMU assign it to Chremylos. Dover observes that V, which in this act eliminates Chremylos from the scene altogether, must follow a line of transmission deriving from ancient sources (op. cit. 256); this is now confirmed. The assignment of 965 to Karion is probably wrong, see Holzinger ad loc. Although Karion's presence would exemplify the *ante portas* motif, a typical scene in Comedy (for a discussion of the relevant passages in Aristophanes see I. E. Stefani, 'Ο δούλος στις κωμωδίες του Αριστοφάνη (1980) 83 ff.; also O. Taplin, *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus* (1977) 340 f.), this seems difficult at this point. In those scenes the master is called out shortly afterwards, but that does not happen here.

966 εχρήν: so VA: ε' εχρήν RM: ce χρήν U. Most editors read ε' εχρήν (for χρήν/εχρήν see Barrett on E. Hipp. 1072–3). The pronoun may have been interpolated (Pl. 57 has λέγειν χρή ταχὺ πάνν), but likewise its omission, inasmuch as it involves only one letter, would not have been difficult. Similar variants appear in Pl. 432 and Av. 1201; other doubtful passages include Pax 1041, Pl. 406, 607, 624.

967 παρανομα φιλτατε: παράνομ' ὦ φιλτατε codd. The papyrus' reading is not unmetrical. J. A. Scott, *AJP* 26 (1905) 40 noted that Aristophanes sometimes omits the interjection in cases of 'poetic reminiscence or parody', and indeed Rau qualifies 967 as paratragic (*Paratragodia* (1967) 209). But ὦ φιλτατε, a common form of address in tragedy, is often employed by Aristophanes, especially in passages where paratragedy can be detected (Rau, op. cit. 144). The few instances where the vocative stands alone can be explained by the context or the metre. The omission of the interjection, therefore, does not appear to be justifiable by Aristophanic usage. (For a discussion of the use of ὦ with vocatives see E. Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address* (1996) 199 ff.) Perhaps some scribe eliminated the somewhat unusual run παρανομαφιλτατε, especially if the elision was not marked in his exemplar, in favour of one more familiar.

Between 967 and 969 there are scanty traces from two lines; apparently the papyrus had an extra line. It is worth recalling Σ πε. 959a, which reports 84 iambs between 959 and 1041, one more than we have in the transmitted text: οἱ δὲ στιχοὶ λαμβανικοὶ τρέμετροι ἀκατάληκτοι π' δ' (π' γ' LP). Nothing seems to have dropped out of the text as we know it; but in view of what little remains, it is impossible to pronounce a judgment in favour of an early interpolation or an accident in the transmission. (For another peculiar verse counting see 4520 648 n.)

N. GONIS

## 4522. NEW COMEDY: ?MENANDER

43 5B.66/E (2–4)a

3 × 24 cm

First/second century

Plate XVIII

Ends of twenty-two lines of a comedy in a small, upright round hand, assignable to the late first or early second century AD, are given by this narrow strip from a roll with both upper and lower margins surviving, to the extent of 3.5 and 7.5 cm respectively—perhaps therefore to approximately the original dimensions—and with the written area 13 cm tall. Very similar in script, but somewhat less generous in format, is another fragment from Oxyrhynchus with 29 line-endings from a comedy in a surviving written area of about 14.5 cm, namely inv. 33 4B.83/E (8–11); see *BICS* 31 (1984) 25–31 with Plate 1, where a number of palaeographical parallels are quoted, and an ascription to Menander, *Sikyonios* is proposed, as is noted in Sandbach, *Menandri reliquiae selectae*<sup>2</sup> (1990) 346. In 4522 the resolution in γε]γαμηκότι (4) confirms the

presence of iambic trimeters rather than trochaic tetrameters, which would probably have given less even endings. See LXII 4304 (p. 11 and n.) and I. 3540 (p. 80 and n.): as it happens, the latter is another narrow strip with iambic line-endings; the script, though somewhat less formal, is comparable; the height is 25 cm, with upper and lower margins of 2.5 and 3.5 cm respectively, and 36 lines in 19 cm.

The depth of the lower margin, by contrast with L 3540, for example, and by comparison with X 1239, suggests that this may be the end of the play. In the case of 1239 (Austin, *CGFP* 249) all doubt was removed when the presence of the formulaic invocation to Victory, as known from the ending of Menander's *Dyskolos* and other plays, was eventually recognized by Corbato, in his discussion of the piece in *Studi Menandrei* (Trieste, 1965) 89–119, and independently by Handley, 'Notes on the *Sikyonios* of Menander', *BICS* 12 (1965) 62, n. 22. See the commentary below on 14 and 20–22. In the present case, the suspicion aroused by the format is reinforced by clues from the content, in spite of damage to the crucial words for 'torch' (14) and 'applause' (20) and the theoretical ambiguity between 'goddess' and 'sight' in 21. The resemblances with the surviving endings of plays known to be by Menander (exiguous though the present text is) raise a presumption that this was a copy of a play by him, or by someone who followed his formula closely; I have not noted a coincidence with any other text, and short of that the play's identity seems likely to remain undiscoverable. I have been able to check readings against a preliminary transcript made by Sir Eric Turner in January 1978, but he must not be held responsible for the interpretations offered. A first presentation of the text and commentary as set out here was given at the Graduate Summer School in Papyrology in Oxford on 12 July 1997.

	]ταφορτίον[	]τα φορτίον	
	]στρεισημερα[	]ς τρεῖς ἡμέρα[ς	
	]κακων[	]κακῶν	
	]αμηκοτι	γε]γαμηκότι	
	ς		
5	]υη	πο]λύς	5
	]ροσηκεμοι[	πι]ροσηκέ μοι	
	]υνη	]υνη	
	]κεισιγωετα[	]κεισι γίνετα[ι	
10	]ι: τουθορα[	]ει. ( ) τουθ <sup>θ</sup> , δρᾶ[ς,	10
	]τεχων	(?) ἀν]τέχων	
	]κοιλεγει	]κοι λέγει	
	]καλον	]καλόν	

	]. αἰδαδος	] δᾶδα δός	
15	]. ηκοςμο[	]	15
	]. νοραυ	]. ν ὄραϝ	
	]νονε[ ]ιθι	-]νον εἰ[ ]ιθι	
	]ωμεν: λαβε	-]ωμεν. ( ) λαβε	
	]. ευ. . . . τ. . . ]	]	
20	] . ζεμνον . ρο . ]	κα] ζεμνον κρότ[ον	20
	]ωποςθεα	-]ωπος θεά	
	]οις	-]οις	

1 Perhaps φορτίων, fibres twisted 3 ], dot of high ink, perhaps punctuation 4 ], high horizontal joins α 5 End of curved down-sloping diagonal, as for λ, touches upright of υ; above υ, interlinear ink might represent c as correction; at the end, a paler low fleck which appears not to be ink 7 Speck of high ink; cf. 3 9 ]κ, upper and lower arms, possibly χ, not c 10 Mid-line horizontal joins upright 11 Possibly to be read as -τ' ἐχων without diastole; cf. 10 14 ], part of down-sloping diagonal; if δ, base lost; λ or α could have been written; if κ or χ, the upper part should show; π (for παῖδα) is excluded 15 Upright with curved foot joins η; most likely ]μ; at end, μω[ or λο[ 16 First, two dots of ink: may be parts of an upright; second, apparently a triangular letter: α suits 19 Badly abraded: first, high horizontal with traces of low horizontal and linking diagonal suggest ζ, and the possibility of δ] Ζεὺ δέσποτα: High ink after ν could be top of δ, but the rest, τ apart, is hard to justify, and the last two might well be ας, rather than α: 20 After ζεμνον, low and high ink, with trace of rising diagonal, as if κ; then a long descender; no clear trace of bow for ρ (though it is very small in this hand) or of riser for φ (which is therefore ruled out), or of horizontal for ψ (which is therefore unlikely); end of high horizontal after α

1 E.g. φέρων]τα φορτίων: if so, the likeness to the broken line φέρουσα κριθῶν τοῖς ὄνο[ς, shortly before the end of Σικ., at 411, could indicate a kinship of motif, and is accordingly to be noted.

9 (?)...δ δο]κεῖς γίνεται, combinable with (ἀ)παντ' ἐχων in 11; ελεγγύομαι is rare and improbable.

10 τοῦθ', ὄραϝ, ἐφην, at *Perik.* 142/332, illustrates ὄραϝ in parenthesis, as it may be (but need not be) here.

14 The call for a torch to lead off the procession of the actors, together with garlands for them to wear, is a common motif at the end of a comedy, and can be reckoned among the signs that this piece represents one: see Sandbach on *Dysk.* 964 (6 lines before the end), citing, among other texts, *Mis.* 459/989 (8 lines before), *Sam.* 731 (7 lines before); *Σικ.* 418 (6 lines before), together with 1239 (Austin, *CGFP* 249), where garlands are called for 9 lines before the end. δός, rather than ἐκδότης τικ or the like, need not be pressed to mean that there is a torch already to hand: one can think of a construction like παιδάριον, ἄμα[ δᾶδα δός; the expected garlands can be written in with equal ease, as can the torch in 1239.

15 E.g. ἤμῖν ἐνδεή[ ] μὴ κόμω[ ] ἦ, but the surviving letters admit several quite different articulations.

17 Obvious, though not necessarily right, would be πρὸς ἐκεῖ]νον εἰ[ ]ιθι; and that in turn would lend a certain plausibility to τῆν γὰρ οἰκ]τιον ὄραϝ in 16 (but for ὄραϝ, see on 10). εἰςιθι, at all events, seems inescapable, and can hardly be meant to do anything else at the very end of a play than to send someone to call out another actor who is to join in: hence one can imagine a sequel on the lines of κῶκκαλεσον ἀτόν, ἴνα συνέλθ[ ]ωμεν.

18 f. Possibly λαβέ | τρηδί (the torch of 14). If in the rest of 19 Zeus is invoked (as I cannot verify), it may be a reaction to an entry from the house just visited, like the cry ὦ Ζεὺ Κάτερ, ἐκτόπου θεός at *Dysk.* 690.

20 The word κρότον, though almost lost, seems hard to resist as a reading; the applause appealed for is ζεμνός, presumably, because it is to accompany a κώμος in honour of Dionysus as god of the festival. So at *Knights* 546 f., the cheering that the chorus calls for in favour of Aristophanes is not just boisterous shouting, but ὄρουσον χρηστὸν λυαάντη; and similarly, in the appeal to Victory at the end of Euripides, *Phoenissae*, *Oristes* and elsewhere, she is μέγα σεμνὴ Νίκη, a formula which may have influenced the choice of the present epithet. Νίκη is presumably the '(-)eyed goddess' of 21, with the name appearing in the final line, a pattern that

persists in the recurrent Menandrian formula and its variants (see Sandbach on *Dysk.* 968 9 and *Samia* 736 7, noting also P. Harris II 172). With the aid of borrowing from *Knights* (as above) and *Samia*, one can imagine a conclusion something like this:

ἔμοις δ' ἄμ' εὐφραίνεσθε, κα]ζι σεμνὸν κρότ[ον  
 παραπέμβαθ' ἡμῖν' ἢ δὲ φαιδρ]ωπος θεά  
 ζηπουτο Νίκη τοῖς ἔμοις ἀεὶ χορ]οῖς.

The consideration that θεά could be read as θέα, and τηλ]ωπος conjectured, is not one that ought to persist against the counter-indications that the context gives.

E. W. HANDLEY

#### 4523. NEW COMEDY

Fr. 1 24 3B.72/C(c)

Fr. 1 3 × 4 cm

Second century

Fr. 2 24 3B.73/M(g)

Plate XV

Fr. 3-5 106/70(a), 106/70(d)(1-2)

Five scraps written in a medium-sized informal round hand of a common type, to be compared with those of the Berlin *Theaetetus* commentary (Schubart, *PGB* 31; Seider, *Pal.* II 40) and P. Mich. inv. 5982 (*ZPE* 2 (1968) Taf. III) and assigned to the second century AD. δ has a broad base; the right-hand side of π is convex; the loop of ρ is tiny; ν is looped at the base; bilinearity is infringed only by ρ and φ. Lectional signs include dicolon (fr. 1.7), high stop (fr. 5.2), apostrophe marking elision, a rough breathing (both fr. 5.7), initial trema (fr. 3.4), and acute accents (fr. 1.7, 3.2, due to a thinner pen). The iota of ωι is added above the line (fr. 3.7). The backs are blank.

Verse-ends are preserved in fr. 1 and 5, those of fr. 1 being recognizable as belonging to a dialogue (change of speaker marked in 7) in iambic trimeters or trochaic tetrameters. ἀ]λλὰ τῆ; at fr. 1.7 points to Comedy rather than Tragedy (see n.), the reference to an all-night festival as a setting for rape at fr. 3.2-3, if the verses are correctly restored and interpreted, to New Comedy in particular (references in Arnott, *Alexis: the fragments*, 516).

Fr. 1 was originally edited by Marcia E. Weinstein as XXXVIII 2827; it has been re-edited by Austin as *CGFP* 283, and by Kassel-Austin as *PCG* Adesp. 1116.

Fr. 1

	]	[			
	]	[			
	]α.	[	] [		
]. . .	οτε				]. . .



5 ] . cθαγαρ ] . cθα γάρ  
 ] υχεε  
 ] λλατí:  
 ] αιδια  
 ] ιονα[

1-2 stripped 3 . . [, upright ligatured to α; two low dots, one above and to the left of the other: the whole possibly to be combined as κ . . [, stripped 4 ] . , foot of upright, spacing suggesting τ. Between στ, unexplained high vertical touching left end of crossbar of τ, as if scrib 5 ] . , ι or the second upright of η 6 ] . , speck on edge, then upright 9 ]ι, upper part of upright with blob finial, resembling the first ι of l. 8

4 ] τóτε, ] τó τε, ἐκάς]τοτε.  
 5 σ]τεθα (ed. pr.), ] ἤεθα, ἐφ]ηεθα, ἠδ]ηεθα.  
 6 δυε]τυχέε, εὐ]τυχέε, -ε]τυχεε (all ed. pr.); -ώ]γυχεε seems less probable.  
 7 ἀ]λλὰ τί (ed. pr.); common at line-end in Comedy (Ar. Pax 1256, Men. Mis. 168, Sam. 593), often forming, as here, a complete sentence (Ar. Eq. 955, Ra. 488, Ec. 928, Anaxandr. fr. 50.1 KA, Antiph. fr. 105.1 KA, Men. Mis. 379 (?), Sam. 348, 450 (?), Sic. 290 (?); at line-beginning, Damox. fr. 2.46 KA); neither use is found in Tragedy.

8 The choices include, besides π]αίδια and π]αιδιά (both ed. pr.), I suppose the most likely, ἐ]λάδια, κερ]αίαδια, and one of two with -]αι Δία.

## Fr. 2

stripped  
 ] . ρ[  
 ] . [.] αcτi [ .  
 5 ] υλογον[  
 ] . ωcπερ[  
 ] αναρτε [ .  
 ] εξο [ . . ] . [ .  
 ] ον [ .

1 ] . [, much abraded; two letters may be represented stroke to right: τ or γ 4 ] . [, specks in lower half of line applying to ι, with below its right-hand side a low dot 3 ] . . , dot on line; upright joining cross- 5 ] . [, high horizontal, cross-stroke or accent 6 ] . , top and bottom of rounded letter

7 ] . [, dot on line 8 ]ε, cross-stroke on a single fibre with trace of top ] . [, left-hand parts of τ or π: if the latter, only one letter is lost in the lacuna ] . [, stroke descending from left

8 ξξ δτ[ο]υ looks slightly too short.

## Fr. 3

]υ[.] . ω . [ .  
 ]παννυ[ .  
 ] . νβιαζ . [ .  
 ] . cυπο . [ .  
 5 ]αμύδακ[ .  
 ] . φρουρ . [ .  
 ]κατω`ι` . [ .  
 ] . ιδυ[ .

]παννυ[χι-  
 ] . νβιαζ . [ .  
 ] . c ύπο . [ .  
 χλ]αμύδα κ[ .  
 ] . φρουρ . [ .

1 ] . , upright ] . [, dot on line; surface stained at edge 3 ] . , edge of upright ] . [, upper left arc of circle 4 ] . , lower part of upright, hooked to right, with median and high dots: anomalous, perhaps an altered or deleted letter ] . [, left-hand parts of τ or π 6 ] . , trace level with tops of letters, now resembling right arc of a circle, but abraded, with prima facie a further trace below ] . [, gently rising stroke level with tops of letters: ε and ο both acceptable 7 ] . [, dot above level of tops of letters 8 ] . , foot connecting to foot of ι, as of a υ[ , start of stroke descending from left to right; spacing suggests υ rather than α

2 E.g. τί] (the accent as at fr. 1.7). Besides παννυ[χι-, there is (-)]παν νυ[- to be considered, but I can produce nothing plausible with it; TLG has only a few late prose instances of such a sequence.

5 χλ]αμύδα appears certain, none of the other nouns with this termination (ἀμύε, πηλαμύε, χηραμύε) being suited to the context. φρουρ- in the next line suggests that the soldier's and ephebe's 'cloak' (cf. [Arist.] Ath. Pol. 42.5, φρουροίσι (sc. οἱ ἐφηβοί) ... χλαμύδας ἔχοντες; Men. Sam. 659 with Gomme-Sandbach's note, Philem. fr. 34.1 KA with Kassel-Austin's note) would not be out of place.

7 ]ι` rather thin, perhaps due to a different hand.

## Fr. 4

]υδ[  
 αυτ[  
 κα . [ .  
 αν . [ .  
 5 με . [ .  
 ] . . ] . [ .

1 [ ], much narrower than  $\alpha$  in l. 2      2  $\tau$  [ ], cross-stroke level with tops of letters, with dot in place on line for foot of  $\tau$ ; horizontal trace at mid-letter level where ink has run along a fibre      3 [ ], trace of foot of letter ligatured to  $\alpha$       4 [ ], slightly convex trace in upper half of line      5 [ ], trace level with tops of letters      6 [ ], speck level with presumed tops of letters

Fr. 5

·      ·  
] [      ·  
]υ'  
]τομα[      ·  
] [      ·  
5 ]ων  
]ηϙ  
]·οδ'ε[  
]··[  
·      ·

7 ]·, dot level with tops of letters      8 ]· [ ], cross-stroke level with presumed tops of letters; dot at same level

7 This sequence twice near line end in Comedy (Lync. fr. 1.22 KA τὸ δ' ἔρεπος, Men. Pk. 121 τὸ δ' ἔρεπον).

W. B. HENRY

## IV. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

## 4524. LIST OF NOMES

A8/2c

7.1 × 5 cm

First half of second century  
Plate XIX

This small fragment is complete at the right and perhaps at the foot, but is very probably incomplete at the top; it is impossible to estimate the loss at the left (though cf. line 2 n.). What survives records the names of five nomes in central and eastern Lower Egypt: Sebennyte, Diopolite, Nesyt, Arabia and Tanite. The papyrus naturally invites comparison with the nome list preserved in XLVII 3362, a list which originally included all the nomes of Egypt. The part of 3362 which survives records more or less complete lists of the nomes from the Thebaid and from Middle Egypt, a list of eleven nomes from Eastern Lower Egypt, and a further section presumably recording nomes from the rest of Lower Egypt. This last section is almost wholly lost and of the section for Eastern Lower Egypt only six nomes can be identified with certainty. The Tanite is the only nome recorded in the surviving parts of both 4524 and 3362, though it is likely that the section for Eastern Lower Egypt in 3362 would also have included Arabia and the Nesyt. It is, however, extremely improbable that there would have been room in this section for the Sebennyte and the Diopolite, which are much more likely to have appeared in the following section covering West and Central Lower Egypt. It may well be, therefore, that 4524 was a list of all the nomes in Lower Egypt, not a section only. It may indeed, like 3362, have been a list of all the nomes of Egypt.

Elsewhere I have argued that 3362 dates from a period when Lower Egypt had been subdivided into two sections, each under its own epistrategus (J. David Thomas, *Roman epistrategos*, 35–9). 3362 is most probably to be assigned to the second half of the second century and is certainly later than AD 136/7 (ibid. 25 n. 62). 4524 is probably earlier than this and may well date from a period when there was only one epistrategus for the whole of Lower Egypt. Palaeographically I should have been inclined to assign 4524 to the second half of the first century: note in particular the way tau is written, with the left-hand half of the cross-bar united in a single stroke with the hasta (cf. also the triangular omicron). There are, however, good reasons for thinking that it belongs no earlier than the reign of Hadrian (see the notes). As such the list falls between the nome list of Pliny (*NH* V 49–50) and the information to be found in Ptolemy (*Geog.* IV 5), and is likely to be contemporary with the so-called nome coins (perhaps better described as nome types), which are attested from year 11 of Domitian to year 8 of Antoninus Pius. For a comprehensive bibliography of work on the Roman coins of Alexandria, including the nome coins, see E. Christiansen, *Proceedings 20th Int. Congress of Papyrology*, 478–83. H. Gauthier, *Les nomes d'Égypte*, is the most detailed survey of the nome coins for their information on the creation and disappearance of nomes, see esp.

pp. 156–73; cf. also A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*,<sup>2</sup> 313–14. Dr Jennifer Sheridan is currently studying these coins and I am indebted to her for some information.

There are ink traces on the back.

. . . . .  
] Σεβ[ε]ννύτης  
] τόπων Διοπολίτης  
] . . . . . κικ καὶ Νεσύτ  
] β[ . . . . . ] κ Ἀραβία  
5 δ . . . . . ] Ταρίτης

1 The Sebennytic nome, situated in the north-central Delta, is attested in all the lists of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. To the references given in Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario* IV 251–2, Suppl. I 234 and II 186 add SB XX 14590.4. At some point in the first two centuries AD the single Sebennytic nome was divided into two separate nomes, see the next note.

2 ] τόπων: restore either *ἄνω* or *κάτω*. In the papyri the only nomes in Lower Egypt to be qualified by the words *ἄνω τόπων* or *κάτω τόπων* are the Upper Sebennytic (VI 931, SB XX 14590; also I. Alex. 29=SB V 8780) and the Lower Sebennytic (LX 4069, P. L. Bat. XXV 49), apart from a single instance in which an epimeteles of τῶν κάτω τόπων τοῦ Καίτου occurs (UPZ I 110.193), and a possible reference in XII 1435 8 to *ἄνω τόπων* of Arabia (see the note ad loc.). The expression could, however, be shortened to just *ἄνω* or *κάτω*, and we have examples, apart from the Sebennytic, of the Diopolite and Cynopolite nomes in Lower Egypt being described as *κάτω* to distinguish them from a Diopolite nome and a Cynopolite nome further up the Nile. 4524 cannot be referring to Arabia or the Diopolite and we can safely reject the Saite, which appears undivided in all the lists and in any case is further west than the other nomes in our text. Unless therefore we have an unattested name for a nome, we must choose between the Lower Cynopolite and the Upper and Lower Sebennytic. The Lower Cynopolite is attested in XVII 2136 3, XLIX 3477 5–6 and P. Münch. III 138.3 (where see the note), but all these texts are from the later third and fourth centuries and the nome does not appear on the nome coins nor in Ptolemy. It is very probable that it was in existence by 209, cf. XLVII 3345 50 with the note ad loc., but it may well not have been created by the date of 4524 and it has not so far been attested with the addition of τόπων to κάτω. The most probable solution therefore is that our text referred at this point to either the Upper or the Lower Sebennytic. To restore simply Σεβ[ε]ννύτης [ἄνω] τόπων or Σεβ[ε]ννύτης [κάτω] τόπων, however, would make the lines very short. Possibly we should restore Σεβ[ε]ννύτης [ἄνω τόπων Σεβεννύτης κάτω] τόπων (or vice versa), though it is worth remarking that in the enumeration of the nomes in Ptolemy IV 5.50–51 these two nomes do not follow one another directly. In support of restoring here a reference to the Lower Sebennytic we may note that the lists in P. Ryl. IV 616 include Pachnemunis (which was the name by which the Lower Sebennytic was known in the Byzantine period) immediately before the Diopolite.

However that may be, it seems reasonably safe to take our text as evidence that at the time it was written the Sebennytic had been divided into an upper and a lower section, thus creating two distinct nomes. This division is not to be seen in Pliny's list but is found in Ptolemy, who includes a Σεβεννύτης ἄνω τόπων and a Σεβεννύτης κάτω τόπων. The division of the Sebennytic is first attested in the papyri in II 237 vii 30, which mentions the ἄνω Σεβεννύτης in AD 136. On the Lower Sebennytic see Gauthier, op. cit. 172–3. The latest exactly datable reference to the Sebennytic without the qualification *ἄνω* or *κάτω* is in P. Lund V 10=SB V 8750.32 of AD 98; P. Oxy. Hels. 14 may date from AD 110 but could well be earlier, see lines 3–4 n. This implies that our text dates from between AD 98 and 136. The evidence of the nome coins would seem to support this (apart from Gauthier, see ZPE 49 (1982) 239–42): coins from the 11th year of Domitian (91/2) and 13th year of Trajan (109/10) record simply a Sebennytic nome, but in the 11th year of Hadrian (126/7) they also record a Lower Sebennytic, CEBEK. This suggests that there was only one Sebennytic nome until some time between 109/10 and 126/7.

We also need to consider the evidence of XVIII 2199. In his introduction the editor comments that the text supplies us with a new strategus of the Sebennytic nome and that 'in col. 123 we may most probably restore the name Iulius Pardalas, who is known as idios logos for AD 123 .... Therefore the document may be dated in the reign of Hadrian; in col. ii 12 a thirteenth year occurs, but this may be a year of Trajan'. Only part of this papyrus has been published, but a study of the original confirms the statements of the editor and I should agree that the reading/restoration of [Ιούλιον Πα]ρδαλάν τὸν γενόμενον πρὸς τῶν ἰδίων λόγων is virtually certain. The text should therefore date from after 122/3 when Pardalas was in office (BGU 250 = W. Chr. 87.19–21). The text as published refers only to τοῦ ἐκείνου τοῦ νομοῦ στρατηγῶν, but in col. i 7–8 the papyrus has ] . . . . . ν τοῦ Σεβεννύτου δι' ἄν δ[. The damaged letter at the start might be omega, so that a reading such as τὸν ἄνω τόπων τοῦ Σεβεννύτου is possible but far from certain. It is unclear therefore whether 2199 refers to the Sebennytic as divided or not.

Διοπολίτης: on the different Diopolite (or Diospolite) nomes see JEA 50 (1964) 141–3. For the Lower Diopolite see Gauthier, op. cit. 165–8. It is not mentioned in Ptolemy. This is very odd, since Ptolemy specifically describes the Diopolite nome in the Thebaid as Διοπολίτης νομὸς τῶν ἄνω τόπων (IV 5.67), thus implying the existence of a Diopolite in Lower Egypt. Furthermore, we know from the nome coins that a Lower Diopolite, ΔΙΟΠΙΤ, was in existence by at least 126/7, well before the date at which Ptolemy was writing. It is worth noting that the nome is never attested with the description *κάτω τόπων*; it appears either as Διοπολίτης Κάτω (O. Theb. 132 and XXIV 2415 58; both third century) or as Διοπολίτης Κάτω Χώρας: LX 4060 121 (161) and 4069 3 (early 3rd cent.). It is not certain that we should supply Κάτω (Χώρας) at the start of the next line. At least two papyri refer to a nome simply as Διοπολίτης without further qualification when they mean the Diopolite in Lower Egypt: P. Ryl. II 427 frag. 2, cf. frag. 1 (late 2nd/early 3rd cent.) and IV 616 (312).

3 ] . . . . . κικ καὶ Νεσύτ: κικ cannot be the ending of a nome name and in any case, in view of lines 2 and 4, we should not expect καὶ before the name of a new nome. Of geographical names attested in this area of Lower Egypt the most promising is Panephrisis: this is known to have been the metropolis of the Nesyt nome and was the name by which the area was known from the fourth century onwards, see *Dizionario* IV 37, Gauthier, op. cit. 169–70, and Jones, op. cit. 337 and 343. What survives of the damaged letters before κικ is consistent with φν, so that we may with some confidence suggest the reading Πανέ]φνσις. This would be the first occurrence of the name on a papyrus. Why the metropolis should have been mentioned as well as the nome is unclear. A comparable expression cannot have been used in the case of the Diopolite in line 2.

For the Nesyt nome, which was situated somewhere in the north-east Delta, see Gauthier, op. cit. 168–70. It occurs in Ptolemy (IV 5.52), but is not in Pliny. On the coins it is first attested in year 14 of Trajan (110/11). Apart from 4524 the only papyrological references are LX 4060 40 (161), SB XVIII 13175 = *Archiv* 4, 122 (194), P. Prag. II 123.9 (3rd cent.), P. L. Bat. XXV 49.6 (2nd/3rd cent.) and possibly LXV 4468 recto ii 30 (late 1st cent.).

4 ] β[ . . . . . ]: there is no serious doubt over the reading of the top of a large beta, after which there is room for four or at most five letters before the final sigma. There is, therefore, insufficient room to read Φαρ]β[αιθίτη]ς or Βου]β[ακτίτη]ς, and Ἀθρι]β[ίτη]ς is too short; these are the only known nomes which include beta and are situated in this part of Egypt. There would be just enough room for Κα]β[ακτίτη]ς, but this nome would be out of geographical order since it belongs much further west. Indeed, the nomes occurring in lines 1–2 belonged to Aegyptus in the fourth century, whereas those occurring in lines 3–5 belonged in Augustamnica. This supports the idea that the list has some geographical basis and that the nomes are being given in an order running from west to east (cf., however, the next paragraph). A possible solution to the problem, suggested by the probable occurrence of Panephrisis in line 3, is to supply the name of a nome metropolis rather than a nome. There would be enough room to read Φαρ]β[αθη]ς or Βου]β[ακτι]ς, which are both in the right geographical area. Note also that the nome list in the Revenue Laws, col. 31, refers to Βου]β[ακτίτη]ς καὶ Βου]β[ακτί]ται, and again in cols. 64–65 it has a paragraph headed ἐν τῶν Βου]β[ακτίτη] καὶ Βου]β[ακτί]ται (which immediately precedes the entry ἐν τῆ Ἀραβία).

Ἀραβία: a nome of this name, situated in the east of Lower Egypt, appears in all the lists except Strabo. For its position and extent see the important discussion in LX 4063–7, introd. The order in which it occurs here is slightly odd, since in some Byzantine lists Panephrisis = the Nesyt and Tanis = the Tanitic are in Augustamnica I, whereas Arabia is in Augustamnica II (see Jones, op. cit. 549).

5 On the Tanite see Gauthier, op. cit. 13-16. It lies in the north-east of Lower Egypt and occurs in all the lists. See *Dizionario IV* 354 and Suppl. II 205. The Tanite and Arabia both occur in IV 709, as two of the nomes for which the *conventus* was to be held in Pelusium.

J. DAVID THOMAS

#### 4525. TOWN COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS

3 1B 81/D(4)a

13.8 × 14 cm

c. 331

The papyrus is broken at left and right and at the foot. The amount lost is uncertain, but since no connected sense can be made of what survives, the lines were probably of considerable length (cf. however line 19 n.). It is clear that we have a fragment of the minutes of a town council. Similar papyri are listed in A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils of Roman Egypt*, 32-4; add XLIV 3187, XLVII 3340, Stud. Pal. XX 58 (=V 7-9), P. Genova II 67, P. L. Bat. XXIII, pp. 99-100 (=P. Erlang. 18), P. Stras. IX 816, P. Bodl. I 68(a), SB XVIII 13174 (=Archiv 4, 115 ff.) and SB XX 15026. The present papyrus, like most of those just cited, no doubt refers to the council of Oxyrhynchus. On the whole subject see Bowman, *passim*, especially pp. 32-39. We should distinguish verbatim accounts from extracts made from minutes, perhaps for private purposes (cf. Bowman, 37, and 3187, introd.). The present text falls into the former category. It is probable that the surviving fragment records the minutes of two different meetings (see line 19 n.).

The reference on the second side to the prefect of Egypt Flavius Hyginus serves to date the text approximately to 331. Not much can be gleaned concerning the subjects under debate in our text (see the notes). On topics known to have been discussed in town councils see Bowman, Chap. 4.

The format is particularly interesting. At the top of one side is the number 17 (ιζ) and at the top of the other side the number 18 (ιη); therefore what is preserved is a leaf from a codex, and our text is to be added to the small number of documentary codices which belong to a relatively early date, i.e. to the fourth century. On documentary codices see Jean Gascou in A. Blanchard (ed.), *Les débuts du codex*, 71-101, and Jennifer A. Sheridan, in P. Col. IX, pp. 7-16 (I am grateful to Dr Sheridan for making this information available to me prior to publication). P. Col. IX of the mid 320s is the oldest certain documentary codex; but there is a strong possibility that LX 4075, which is probably to be dated to 318 and may be even earlier, is a leaf from a codex (see the discussion in the introduction). These are the only documentary codices older than 4525. It is likely that it comes from a single-quire codex, since most examples from this period are of this type. If so, since ↓ precedes →, what we have is most probably a leaf from the first half of such a codex (see E. G. Turner, *The typology of the early codex*, 65-7). There is a sheet

join visible on the recto side of the original roll. There is no reason to doubt that all third-century examples of council minutes were written on rolls, as would be expected (this is certain in some cases, e.g. XII 1414, Stud. Pal. XX 58, P. Bodl. 68(a), SB 13174) and I know of no other council proceedings which are certainly in the codex form. The minutes of a public meeting preserved in XXIV 2407 are on both sides of the papyrus and are continuous from front to back, which suggests we have a leaf from a codex. But if so, the width of the page at 37 cm would be very large indeed: Turner, *Typology*, 32, describes XX 2258 (Callimachus), with a width of 37/38 cm, as having 'an enormously broad page'. 4075 was also of considerable width, a minimum of 25 cm.

↓ ] ιζ [

] να την ὕλην ὑποδέξῃτε τῶς [

τ]ὰ ἐπιδοθέντα μοι βιβλία ὑπ . . . [

] . . . περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ τῶν χαλκῶν . [

5 ] . [ . ] ας φανερώς καταθέσθαι ηγελ[

] οἱ βουλ(ευται) ἐφ(ώνησαν)· χολαζέτωσαν τοῖς πολιτικ[οῖς

] . ι οὐδεὶς ἐκεῖ ἐργάζεται δε . α . εμ . [ . ] . . [ . ] . [

] . ντι ἡμῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ κεφαλαιωτοῦ τ[

] πόλεως . ὁ πρύ(τανις) εἶπ(εν) . . . ε . ε . . . καὶ περὶ τῶν χ[

10 ] . ἠθελήσαμεν ὑποδέξασθαι ἐκάστου . ε . . [

] . δας βούλεσθε αὐτοῖς παρασχεθῆναι καὶ [

] ὕλην ἡ εἴκοσι τάλαντα τ . . παλαιαςτ[ . . ]

] . . . ντα εἴκοσι ὀφείλουσι λαβεῖν μόνα [

] . [ . ] . . εται ὀφείλουσι [ c. 5 ] λαβεῖν καὶ ἄλλα [

15 ] . ε εἶναι τῶ [ c. 6 Διο]κο[υ]ρίδης λογιστ[

] ε[ ] π(εν)· ἄλλο τι [ c. 14 ] . . [ . ] . . ιας ὕλη [

] . . λ[ . ] . . . . . [

→ ] ιη [

] λης οὐσης το . [ . ] . εἰς συμπλήρωσιν τῶ[ν

20 ] . δεσπότης μου ὁ διασημότατος ἐπ[αρχος

ὁ π]ρύ(τανις) εἶπ(εν)· τοῦτον ἰδὼς ἰκανὸν πρὸς τὸ βο[

] εως ἀμπελοκτήτορα ὄντα ε . δι . . [ . ] . [

] . λεως καὶ οὐ χρῆ αὐτὸν εἰς τοῦ[τ]ο ὑποβληθῆ[ναι

] . δρους καὶ νῦν ὑπεβάλατε οὐ λήσονται τη[

25 ]βολέας κατὰ ἀκολουθίαν αςφο. .ντος[  
 ἐπ'αρχος τῆς Αἰγύπτου Φλάουιος Ὑγείνος περὶ πεν. [   
 ἀπ]οσειλάς εἰς τοῦτο καὶ ὀφφ(κικαλιου ·) τῆς τάξεως αὐτοῦ κα[   
 ], μον μετὰ τῶν ἐπὶ κοπήε τῶν αἰρεθέντων ὑπὸ [   
 ]εντος στρατιώτου ναῦλα τοῖς πλοίοις παρασχεῖν τοῖς[   
 30 ], [ . . . ] Ἀπολλώνιος διαση(μότατος) εἶπ(εν)· ὀφίλει ἀπὸ τῶν   
 μερισξέ[ντων   
 ]εν χρῆ τὰ ναῦλα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπαιτηθέντων παρ. . [   
 ], οἱ βουλ(ευται) ἐφ(ώνησαν)· οὕτω [γενέξ]θω. ὁ πρύ(τανικ)   
 εἶπ(εν)· πρὸ τοῦ [   
 ], ναι ὁ λ[ο]γιςτῆς[ ± 7 ] . [ . . . ] ἀναγκαι[   
 ]το κατα. [ . ] . θ. [ ± 15 ] ὑθορες[   
 35 ], Ὑουλι[ν]ο[ς] λ[

2 να, ἄλην, ὑποδέξετε; 1. ὑποδέξεται	3 ὄπ	6 οἰβουλ'εφ/	8 ἡμῶν corrected from
ἡμῶν or vice versa; ὄπο	9 πρδει'	10 ὑποδεξασθαι	12 ἄλην
17 see note	19 το [ . ] . εἰς: see note	21 ]ρδει'; ἰκανον	22 ε. δι.: some correction, see note
23 ὑποβληθη[	24 ὑπεβαλατε; υπε corrected from υπο, 1. ὑπεβάλετε	25 κατα, κ	
corrected from τ	26 φλαουιοειγνευος	27 οφφ/	28 επι, ε corrected from α
1. ὀφίλει	32 βουλ'εφ'; πρδει'	33 αναγ'και[	35 Ὑουλιαν[ο]ς λ[

1 For numbers at the head of a column of council minutes see Stud. Pal. XX 58; cf. numbers at the foot of a column in SB XVIII 13174.

2 The reference to ἄλη here and again in lines 12 and 16 suggests that the whole of this side may have dealt with the same subject. It is likely that there was some dispute over payment to workmen, for which we can compare XII 1414, esp. lines 12–16, and in general Bowman, 87–90 and 94–8. What ἄλη means in the present context is not clear. The reference may simply be to wood which is connected in some way with the work being performed by the smiths (line 4); but it is perhaps more likely that we have a reference to a material other than wood. For ἄλη used of metals see J. R. Rea, ZPE 35 (1979) 128, where the reading of XXXIII 2673 22 is corrected to χαλκῶν ἄλην, and that of XVII 2106 15–16 to τὴν τ[οῦ] χ[ρ]οῦσῶ ἄλην; cf. also P. Col. VII 141.26 and 29, where receipt is acknowledged of payment for χαλκῆς χυτῆς ἄλης.

ὑποδέξετε τέως: it would be possible to read ὑποδέξῃ τέλωσ, which would avoid the need to correct the itacism; but the epsilon after υποδέξῃ has a prolonged final stroke and so appears to be at the end of a word.

3–4 P. Laur. IV 155 contains a request to the prytanis of Oxyrhynchus from τὸ κοινὸν τῶν χαλκῶν for payment for work done on the baths. This suggests that in line 3 the prytanis is speaking.

5 ηρελι[: or ηρεμ]. The word division is uncertain.

6 τοῖς πολιτικ[οῖς] the noun to be supplied (assuming that a noun is needed) is probably ἔργοις (rather than χρήμασι); in I 84 15–16 εἰρηροχαλκεῖς acknowledge payment for iron used εἰς δημόσια πολιτικά ἔργα.

7 At the start of the line it would be possible to read ]πι, suggesting ἐπι for ἐπει, with a new clause beginning after ἐργάζεται. The letters before and after εμ could well both be pi and it may be possible to read δέκα πεμπ[ι] (δεκαπέντε cannot be read).

8 ], πτ. ἡμῶν:] ἀπ: ἡμῶν is possible (and cf. the critical note).

τοῦ κεφαλαιωτοῦ τ: supply τ[ὸν] χαλκῶν?

9 . . . ε. ε. . : it may be possible to read τί λέγετε. At the end supply χ[αλκῶν]?

11 ], δα: the trace at the start would permit alpha; read μυρ[ι]άδα?

12 τ. παλαιασι. [; it is possible to read τῆς παλαιᾶς, but this does not suggest any plausible restoration. There is no possibility of a reference to the 'old Ptolemaic coinage'.

13 It is not possible to read τάλαντα at the start of the line; perhaps a participle ending –εντα.

14 At the start ἐ]ρ[ρ]ύ[μ]εται is possible.

15 Διοσ[κο]υ[ν]ιδ[ος]: although kappa and rho are not easy readings, the name is probable. There is a well-attested logistes of Oxyrhynchus Valerius Dioscurides alias Julianus, for whom see LIV, pp. 223–5, and add now LX 4092. It is pointed out in LIV, p. 225, that he is often referred to as Dioscurides without the alias Julianus. The traces do not allow a reference to Asclepiades, known as logistes at Oxyrhynchus at about this period (LIV, p. 227). If the reference is to this Dioscurides, we should no doubt restore λογιστ[εύ]εας εἶπεν, cf. XVII 2110 7 and 13, since Dioscurides was out of office by the 330s (LIV, p. 225).

17 A supralinear lambda is visible, either an abbreviation or a correction.

19 There is naturally a strong temptation to read βο[υ]λῆς ὄψεως at the start. It must be stressed, however, that lambda is far from certain and the trace before this, though compatible with upsilon, is minimal; even if ὄψεως is right, other restorations are possible (e.g. we could have just ὄψεως and be dealing with the topic discussed on the previous page). Nevertheless, minutes of the council regularly start with the expression βουλήε ὄψεως (see below) and it would make good sense for minutes of a new meeting to start at the top of a new page. A serious problem arises, however, from what follows: normally the minutes have at this point a speech by the prytanis or some other member of the council, or, in the case of extracts, a statement of the prytanis to which they are to be dated (e.g. VIII 1103, XVII 2110). XLVII 3340, which reads βουλήε ὄψεως καὶ τῆς, ([line 5, cf. line 22), is somewhat different but the context is lost. Note also XVII 2130 12, where, in a petition to the gymnasiarchs, the petitioner refers to a πιττάκιον read out on τῇ διεθ(ούσῃ) λ βουλήε ὄψεως δημοσίων κτλ., i.e. βουλήε ὄψεως comes in the middle of a sentence. The broken letter in our text after το looks most like alpha or delta, then a small hole follows, but no letter may have been lost. After this there is the end of a horizontal dash over the line plus a vertical stroke, which runs over the first two letters of ελε. Does this mark an abbreviation or a numeral? If the latter, we could read τὸ δ' = τὸ τέταρτον, or τὸ α' = τὸ πρῶτον (cf. L 3586 5?). Could the latter refer to the first in a series of items to be discussed at the current meeting? It must be admitted, however, that this is without parallel in comparable documents.

If βο[υ]λῆς ὄψεως is right a date almost certainly preceded. But as we are dealing with a page which is not at the start of the full record, we could have a new entry which recorded no more than the day's date, cf. 3340 5 and 22, and P. Erlang. 18.20: 15 there no doubt refers to the date at which the meeting was held, as the editor assumed, though it is taken differently by Wegener in her republication (for which see P. L. Bat. XXXIII, pp. 99–101). This would, however, imply a very short restoration at the left and, since we must assume that the numeral in line 18 was centred, further imply a line of only about fifty letters. This seems unlikely in view of the impossibility of making connected sense of what remains. This problem is eased if we suppose that the month was mentioned as well as the day, which is certainly possible, especially if it were the first meeting in the month in question.

20 One expects ]δ δεσπότης μου (cf., e.g., LIV 3759 12), but the trace at the start does not look compatible with omicron.

21 η. Whatever may be the relationship of the two preceding lines, it is clear that from here until at least line 25, we are dealing with appointment to a public office, a recurring feature of council proceedings; see Bowman, 98–107. Later on, from line 29 or earlier, the meeting seems to have concerned an argument over the payment of transport charges.

21 . δα: there seems to be too much ink at the start for just omicron, but I cannot suggest any reading other than οἶδα, even though the second person singular is somewhat unexpected. Elsewhere the prytanis seems to address the councillors in general, e.g. lines 11 and 24.

ἰκανὸν πρὸς τὸ βο[: cf. P. Lond. V 1649 quoted below. This suggests that we should restore here τὸ βο[υ]λευτικὸν ἄρδινισμα (cf. PSI VI 684.4).

22 ἀμπελοκτήτορα: very little remains of the damaged letter after ἀμπελ, but there is not room for ἀμπελ[ο]ν. The compound is not attested and other compounds of –κτήτωρ, λεπτοκτήτωρ and προκτήτωρ, are not close parallels. Nonetheless the word seems inevitable. On such compounds cf. L. R. Palmer, Grammat., 118–19.

The letters after ὄντα (cf. critical note) are either crossed through or corrected.

23–4 ὑποβάλλω is often used of irregular nomination to office, but it is clear that it can also be used of legitimate nominations: see ZPE 88 (1991) 122 n. 5, and N. Lewis, Compulsory Public Services,<sup>2</sup> 62.

24 *ἰσφβάλατε*: on the form see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb*, § 317(2).

25 *ἰβολέας*: beta is a very probable reading. We should no doubt supply *ἐκἰβόλας* or *χωμα(τ)οεκἰβόλας* (a reference to *ἀμφιβολεῖς, καταβολεῖς* or *ὑποβολεῖς* is less likely). P. Lond. V 1648 and 1649 (both 373) concern the nomination of *ἐκβόλας χωμάτων*; similar is LXI 4129. On these supervisors of work on the dykes see P. Petaus 49 and P. Mich. XI 618.14–15 n. At P. Lond. 1649.11–12 the men nominated are said to be *ἰκαροῦ[ς] καὶ ἐπιτηθείους καὶ εὐθέτους πρὸς τὸ ἐγχειρῆσθαι αὐτοὺς φρόντιμα*.

*ασφ... γτος*: in between the alpha and the phi there is a small hook, which may be a sigma or may be just a link stroke.

26 Flavius Hyginus is known from only four papyri, P. Sakaon 44 = P. Thead. 17, its duplicate P. Turner 44 (neither of which bears a date), P. Col. X 288 (31 December 330) and PSI 767 of 331. References in Athanasius serve to date his prefecture to 331–332, see C. Vandersleyen, *Chronologie des préfets d'Égypte*, 121–2; cf. also J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile*, 241–2.

28 *μετὰ τῶν ἐπὶ κοπή*: it is possible, but less likely, that the stroke between eta and the tau following is no more than a curve leading into the tau and that the correct reading is *κοπή*. Whichever reading is adopted the problem remains of the meaning of *κοπή* in this context. A reference to the tax *κοπή πριχός* (on which see *JJP* 16–17 (1971) 117–22) is most improbable. We presumably are concerned with men chosen to supervise the cutting of something, perhaps the cutting down of trees. The council minutes preserved in SB XX 15026 refer to the prohibition of cutting down persca trees; cf. also PSI IV 285.13 (from Oxyrhynchus).

29 *τοῖς*: it is not clear why there is a line under these letters.

30 *Ἀπολλώνιος διασημότατος*: a Flavius Septimius Severus Apollonius *διασημότατος ἀπὸ ἐπιτροπῶν* is known from XIV 1716 of AD 336 (cf. P. Prag. I 10, with line 1 n.).

*δφίλει ἀπὸ τῶν μεριβέ[ρτων]*: cf. perhaps PSI VII 781.3, an instruction for payment *εἰς λόγον τῶν μεριβέτων ἀργυρίων*; this text is contemporary (341) and relates to the *vestis militaris*.

31 *παρ.*: restore *παρὰς*[*χεθῆραι*].

32 *σῶτα* [*γενέ*]θω: or *γενέ*]θω. For *γενέθω* in a comparable context see Stud. Pal. XX 58 i 1.

33 It seems to have been the normal practice in minutes of meetings to give a speaker's name before his office or ex-office, except in the case of the prytanis, which suggests that we should not restore *ὁ λο[γιστής] [εἰπ(εν)]*; on the other hand there is a noticeable space before the article. For the involvement of the logistes in expenditure by towf councils see Bowman, 90 and 97.

34 *κατὰ* [ ] θ.[: *καταθ[έ]σθαι*] could be read (cf. line 5). At the right *ἀκόλοισθόν ἐς*[*τι*] is possible.

35 This may well be an indication that a certain Julianus joined in the debate and we could supply either *λογιστεύεας* or *λογιστής*. A Flavius Julianus, logistes, son of the former logistes Valerius Dioscurides, is known from Oxyrhynchus at precisely this period: see LIV, pp. 225–6.

J. DAVID THOMAS

#### 4526. INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE STRATEGUS TO A BANKER

20 3B.30/G(1–3)c

13.4 × 24.7 cm

December 69/January 70(?)

The papyrus is complete at top, right and left, though there are several holes of which the one in lines 20–22 is considerable. The last line extant preserves the end of the body of the document, but there is a paragraphos under this line which suggests that the papyrus would originally have gone on to include a copy of the *subscriptio*, now lost. The hand is an untidy, sprawling cursive typical of the later first century. The back is blank.

The text is an instruction from the strategus to a public bank to pay half of the *ναῦλον* due to eleven *διεραματίται* from Oxyrhynchus. The full *ναῦλον*, payable on the

transport of wheat to Neapolis, had been fixed at 35 drachmas per 100 artabas. Such instructions (*ἐπιστάματα*) were regularly issued by strategi to bankers, as we know from requests to the strategus to issue them and from acknowledgements to the bankers of the receipt of payments authorised by the strategus. Examples of requests from the Roman period are XLI 2958–9 and XLVI 3290. Acknowledgements are relatively common, e.g. in the long roll made up of SB XVI 13060 + BGU XIII 2270 + P. Berl. Frisk 1 + P. Graux III 30 + P. Col. II 1 recto 4 (see P. Graux III, pp. 1–4) there are no fewer than 64 (P. Graux III, pp. 8–9). It is therefore rather surprising that very few *ἐπιστάματα* from a strategus to a banker dating from the first four centuries AD are known (for the late Ptolemaic period see, e.g., BGU VIII 1749–1751). Apart from 4526 there are only LX 4059, P. Graux III 30 col. 7, and perhaps P. Stras. VI 541 (the last two, like 4526, are copies). This is the more remarkable as a number of examples do exist of analogous orders from the strategus to sitologi to issue amounts of grain, most often as seed-corn, see LVII 3907–9, introd.; these orders are formally very similar to 4526, especially in the inclusion of the statement that the royal scribe must also concur. Note also BGU VII 1564, an order from tax collectors to a banker to pay an advance to weavers, and SB XVI 13049, with P. Graux III, p. 55.

Of the acknowledgements referred to above the most interesting for comparative purposes with 4526 are those coming from tradesmen involved, like the *διεραματίται* here, in stages in the transport of grain to Alexandria: see P. Berl. Frisk 1, *passim*, BGU XIII 2270, P. Col. II 1 recto 4 cols. 18 and 19, etc. On the transport of grain in general see the bibliography cited in the introduction to LVII 3912. It is somewhat unexpected to find *διεραματίται* associated with boats sailing as far as Alexandria; see further line 5 n.

In lines 14–24 eleven *διεραματίται* are listed, each name being followed by two figures for artabas and then an amount in drachmas. At first sight one might suppose that the higher of the two figures for artabas represented the tonnage of the individual boats and the lower figure the amount actually carried. The correct explanation, however, which I owe to Dr John Rea, is that the higher figure represents the lower figure increased by an amount of 6%. It would in any case be totally unexpected to find boats recorded with tonnages such as 318, 371, 212 and 424 artabas. The tonnage of boats used on the Nile has recently been studied by I. J. Poll in *Archiv* 42 (1996) 127–38. He demonstrates that it is normal for the tonnage to be given as a multiple of 50 in amounts over 100 artabas, and in multiples of ten for boats of less than 100 artabas, and he is able to show that apparent exceptions to this rule depend on misreadings. It is to be noted that payment in 4526 is in all cases made on the smaller of the two amounts. It would appear that each *διεραματίτης* was made responsible for a particular amount of grain, in each case a round figure, but was required in practice to be responsible for this amount plus 6%. It seems that in addition to this the state made a further deduction from the sum which it actually paid out (see lines 25–7 n.).

ἀντίγραφον. Κλαύδιος Ἡρώδης στρα(τηγός) Ὁξυρυνχ(ίτου)  
 Θέωνι καὶ με[ετόχ]οις δημοσίων τραπεζεῖ-  
 ταις τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομοῦ χαίρειν. χρηματίσατε συν-  
 επιστέλλοντος Ἑρμαίου βασιλικῆς γραμματέ-  
 5 ως τοῖς ὑπογεγραμμένοις διεραματίταις ἀπ'  
 Ὁξυρύνχων πόλεως (m. 2) ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης' (m. 1) ἡμίναυλον τοῦ ἀρχήθεν  
 ὠρισμένου ναύλου τῶν ἑκατὸν ἀρταβῶν (δρ.) λε  
 ἐφ' ᾧ παραδόμενοι εἰς τὴν Νέαν Πόλιν τῷ ἰδίῳ  
 κινδύνῳ τὸν ἐμβληθησόμενον αὐτοῖς πυρ[όν]  
 10 οὐσιακὸν ὑπὸ Κλαυδίου Θεώωνος καθαρὸν ἀπὸ  
 πάσης κακουργ[ία]ς· τὰ συναγόμενα τοῦ ἡμιναύ-  
 λου ὧν ἐμβάλλ[ο]νται χωρὶς ἐπιμηνίων  
 τῶν συνήθως . . . . . [.] . . . . λλομένων·  
 Κιλικαῖ Π. . . . τ. ὡς ἀγωγῆς ἀρταβῶν(ν) φλ (ἀρτ.) φ (δρ.) πζ (τριώβολον)  
 15 Ἡρακλήϊω Ἡρα[κ]λήϊου ἀγωγῆς ἀρταβῶν(ν) φλ (ἀρτ.) φ (δρ.) πζ (τριώβολον)  
 Ἀρπάλῳ Ἀρπά[λο]ν ἀρταβῶν(ν) τη (ἀρτ.) τ (δρ.) νβ (τριώβολον)  
 Ἀμόντι [.] . . . οὐς ἀρταβῶν(ν) τη (ἀρτ.) τ (δρ.) νβ (τριώβολον)  
 Σαραπίωνι . . . ηιο( ) ἀρταβῶν(ν) τοα (ἀρτ.) τν (δρ.) ξα (δρ.)  
 Παποντῶτι Σύρο[ν] ἀρταβῶν(ν) τη [(ἀρτ.)] τ (δρ.) νβ (τριώβολον)  
 20 Ὁρω . . . χου [ἀρτ]αβῶν(ν) ζιβ (ἀρτ.) ζ (δρ.) λε  
 Ἡρα[κ] . . . 6 ἀρταβῶν(ν) ζιβ (ἀρτ.) ζ (δρ.) λε  
 Λο[κ] . . . 9 ] ἀρταβῶν(ν) τη (ἀρτ.) τ (δρ.) νβ (τριώβολον)  
 Ἑρμοῦτι Δαμαρίωνο(ς) ἀρταβῶν(ν) υκδ (ἀρτ.) υ (δρ.) ο  
 Διονυσίῳ Δι[ον]υσίου(ν) Σαπρων( ) ἀρταβῶν(ν) τη (ἀρτ.) τ  
 (δρ.) νβ (τριώβολον)  
 25 ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ (δρ.) ψβ (τριώβολον), ἐξ ὧν ὑπολογίσατε τὰς  
 συνήθως προστι[θ]εμένας τῷ κυριακῷ λόγῳ ἕ-  
 κατοστάς καὶ λάβετε παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν καθήκου-  
 σαν ἀποχρῆν. (ἔτους) β Α[ντ]οκράτορος Καίσαρος Οὐδεσπασιανοῦ  
 Σεβαστοῦ Τῦβι . . . [.] C]εβαστῆι.

'Copy. Claudius Herodes strategus of the Oxyrhynchite to Theon and partners, bankers of the public funds of the same nome, greeting.

'Pay, with the concurrence of Hermaeus the royal scribe, to the undermentioned *dienastatai* from the city of Oxyrhynchus (2nd hand) on their(?) joint responsibility (1st hand) half of the freight charges which have been fixed in accordance with the traditional practice(?) at the rate of 35 drachmas per one hundred artabas, on condition that they shall deliver to Neapolis at their own risk the usiac wheat which will be loaded for them by Claudius Theon, free from any malpractice. The calculation of the half of the freight charges for that which they take on board, apart from the monthly supplies(?) which are customarily taken on board in addition(?) [is]:

To Kilikas son of Plates(?) for carrying 530 artabas, (payment) for 500 art., 87 dr. 3 ob.

To Heracles son of Heracles for carrying 530 artabas, (payment) for 500 art., 87 dr. 3 ob.

To Harpalus son of Harpalus for 318 artabas, (payment) for 300 art., 52 dr. 3 ob.

To Amois son of . . . for 318 artabas, (payment) for 300 art., 52 dr. 3 ob.

To Sarapion son of . . . for 371 artabas, (payment) for 350 art., 61 dr. 1 ob.(?)

To Papontas son of Syrus for 318 artabas, (payment) for 300 art., 52 dr. 3 ob.

To Horus son of . . . for 212 artabas, (payment) for 200 art., 35 dr.

To Hera- . . . for 212 artabas, (payment) for 200 art., 35 dr.

To Lo- . . . for 318 artabas, (payment) for 300 art., 52 dr. 3 ob.

To Hermous son of Damarion for 424 artabas, (payment) for 400 artabas, 70 dr.

To Dionysius son of Dionysius son of Sapon(?) for 318 artabas, (payment) for 300 art., 52 dr. 3 ob.,

making a total of 752 drachmas 3 obols, out of which deduct the percentage which has customarily been credited to the imperial fiscus, and get from them the usual receipt. Year 2(?) of Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus Tybi . . . , dies Augusta.'

1 (Tiberius) Claudius Herodes has hitherto been attested as strategus of the Oxyrhynchite only in P. Berl. Möller 2 = SB IV 7339 (Vespasian) and XLIX 3508 (16 April 70), see G. Bastianini and J. Whitcombe, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt*, 88. On the date of 4526 see lines 28 n. and 29 n.

2 A firm of public bankers with the title Theon and partners also occurs at Oxyrhynchus in II 243 = M. Chr. 182 (79) and I 50 (99-100); see R. Bogaert, *ZPE* 109 (1995) 151-7.

2-3 δημοσίων τραπεζεῖταις: in the vast majority of occurrences this expression is abbreviated to δημ. τραπ., *vel sim.*, and editors have nearly always assumed the correct title is δημοσίου τραπεζῆταις. Sophie Kambitsis, however, has pointed out (P. Graux III, pp. 10-11; cf. already, Bogaert, *op. cit.* 152 n. 85) that examples in which the first word is written in full as δημοσίων are not at all uncommon: she notes 14 instances in the long roll referred to above in the introduction, and adds X 1284 6, XLI 2964 4, 2968 6 and LX 4059 i. 2 (to which PSI XII 1262.ii. 5 may be added). Against this she notes that in P. Graux 30 col. 3 δημοσίων has been corrected to δημοσίου(ς), and that XLI 2961 6 has δημοσίου τραπεζῆταις (cf. also XX 2271 4, δημοσίου τραπεδίται [sic]). She therefore suggests that either δημοσίων τραπεζῆταις or δημοσίου τραπεζῆταις was an acceptable form for the title.

3-5 συνεπιστέλλοντος Ἑρμαίου βασιλικῆς γραμματέως: this phrase regularly accompanies instructions from the strategus of the type discussed in the introduction. It is attested from the middle of the first century BC (numerous examples in BGU VIII, also XIV 2368; but note already P. Grenf. II 23 = W. Chr. 159 of

1 στρ' οξυρυνχ' 2-3 l. τραπεζῆταις 5 l. διεραματίταις 6 l. ἀλληλεγγύης 7 etc  
 ζ = δραχμαί 14 ἀρταβῶν, so 17 14 etc α = ἀρταβῶν; Γ = τριώβολον 15 ἀρταβῶν, so 18, 23, 24  
 18 . . . ηιο; τοα, τ corrected from ζ; - = 1 obol, see note 23 δαμαρίωνο 24 δι[ον]υσίου(ν) σαπρων 28 l.

108 BC, where *συνηγογράφουτος* replaces *επιπετελλωντος* until AD 213 (P. Köln II 94); cf. E. Börner, *Der staatliche Kontrahent*, 24–5.

Between lambda and iota in βασιλικού there is an additional stroke, which is not part of the tail of rho from the line above. The βασιλικός γραμματεὺς Hermaeus is not otherwise known.

5 *διεραματείταις*: in the papyri we have references to *διεραματίται*, to *διεράματα* and to *διέρασις*, the last usually qualified with the words (τοῦ) *δημοσίου πυροῦ*. Various spellings are used and the etymology is obscure, see XXXI 2568 16 n. There has been much dispute over their meaning, but the explanation offered in LVII 3912 11–12 n. (where earlier bibliography is cited), that *διέρασις* 'refers to the transfer of grain by means of lighters or tenders from the granaries out to the large cargo boats which were unable to get into the harbour' is now generally accepted; see also P. Köln V 229, with line 21 n. The present text does not wholly suit this picture, since the undertaking which it records is not that of transferring grain out to larger ships on the Nile but that of making the whole journey down river to Neapolis, presumably from the Oxyrhynchite nome. We know that smaller boats could make such journeys, as is attested for example in X 1260. Indeed, when the level of the Nile was low it would have been essential to use smaller boats (cf. Börner, op. cit. 30, and A. J. M. Meyer-Termecr, *Die Haftung der Schiffer*, 4) and that may be the explanation in the present text.

6 *ἐξ ἀλληλεγγύης*: for its use in a similar context of. BGU VII 1564.3 and LX 4059 13.

*ἡμίναλον*: it was common practice in private shipping contracts for payment to be made partly in advance and partly on delivery: see XLV 3250 12–15, cf. XLIX 3484 11–12 n.; see also Meyer-Termecr, op. cit. 12 with n. 166. For *ἡμίναλον* used in an official context see P. Harr. II 197.23. For the payment of *ναῦδα* in respect of *διεράματα* cf. P. Sakaon 11, 12 and 82.

*ἀρχήβης*: also found in SB XIV 11899.12, and in XXII 2341 10, where it is taken to mean 'in accordance with usual practice'. Alternatively one might think of a meaning such as 'at the commencement' or even 'by higher authority'.

7 On the rate of charges for water transport see Börner, op. cit. 36–7, A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 407–8, and O. M. Pearl, *TAPA* 83 (1952) 74–9, with a table on p. 77. To the evidence cited by Pearl add now the following: P. Lond. VII 1940 (Zenon), between 12 and 22 drachmas for transport of 100 artabas of grain within the Delta; SB XVI 12810 (Zenon), 25 dr. (distance and cargo unknown); XLV 3250 (c. 63), 28 dr. for 100 artabas of *ἀραξ*, and XLIII 3111 (257), 80 dr. for 100 jars of wine, both for transport between the Hermopolite and the Oxyrhynchite.

8–9 τῷ ἰδίῳ κιδόνῳ: cf. Meyer-Termecr, op. cit. 114. The earliest example hitherto of a comparable clause was P. Meyer 14.10–12 of 159/60. Meyer-Termecr (n. 144 on pp. 39–40) suggests that its inclusion may mean that the post of *ναυκλήρος* was by then a liturgy. It would, however, be very hazardous to argue from the occurrence of this clause in 4526 that the *διεραματίται* were already liturgists in the reign of Vespasian (we know that the post was a liturgy by the late second century from P. Tebt. II 328; see N. Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services*, s.v.); note that they here receive payment for the transporting of the grain.

9–10 *πυρ[όν] οδειακόν*: no other occurrence of this phrase is known to me, but cf. the reference to *ευναγορακτικῆς οδειακῆς κριθῆς* in P. Petaus 44.5B.

10 *Κλαυδίου Θεωνος*: perhaps to be identified with the Tiberius Claudius Theon who was an important Alexandrian citizen with holdings of usiac land in the Oxyrhynchite in the later first century, see XLII 3051 1 n.

10–11 *καβαρὸν ἀπὸ πάσης κακουργ[α]ίς*: this is the oldest occurrence in such documents of a *Haftungsklausel*, on which see Meyer-Termecr, op. cit. 111–22. No other occurrence exactly matches the wording used here; in particular all texts which use the words *ἀπὸ πάσης* and *κακουργίας* insert *ναυτικῆς*. According to Meyer-Termecr, 112–13, the inclusion of *ναυτικῆς* is significant and one wonders whether it has been omitted by accident in the present text.

11–13 The grammatical construction of τὰ *ευναγόμενα* is unclear. It may be just in apposition to *ἡμίναλον* in line 6, but it seems preferable to understand a heavy stop after *κακουργ[α]ίς* and take what follows as a new sentence, with *ἐκτι δέ οἱ* equivalent understood.

12–13 *ἐπιμήνια* seem usually to refer to provisions (cf. LSJ s.v.). The participle used of them here is uncertain as the papyrus is badly damaged in the middle of line 13. Neither *ἐμβαλλομένων* nor *ἐπιτεταλλομένων* by itself is sufficient to complete what was written after *συνήθως*. Of the two *ἐμβαλλομένων* is slightly preferable as a reading and the solution may be to read *προσεμβαλλομένων*.

14 *Κιλικάϊ Π...* γ υ: the name *Κιλικάς* is attested several times in P. Petaus. The patronymic may be Πλάτου, which is attested in SB XX 14088.10 (first published in *Aegyptus* 69 (1989) 37–9, where see the note); cf. also Stud. Pal. X 116.1.

15 *Ἡρακλήμου Ἡρα[κ]λήμου*: from *Ἡρακλῆς* not *Ἡρακλῆος*, which is a modern invention: see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptumculae* II 819.

17 The patronymic no doubt ended in *-ηους, αηους* or *ληους* could be read, possibly *κληους* (but not *Ἡρακλήους*).

18 ...ηοι( ): either *βηιο( )* or *κηιο( )*. There is insufficient room for *Πανεβηίς*, attested in P. Wisc. II 80.144.

Strictly the amount due on 350 artabas is 61 drachmas 1½ obols, but it is unlikely that anything was written after the symbol for one obol.

24 *Καπριου( )*: it is odd for this entry to have another name after the patronymic, presumably the name of the grandfather (though *τοῦ* would be expected); cf. LV 3804 72 n. The name is unattested, but *Καπριου* is quite common.

25 The individual amounts in lines 14–24 are all certain or guaranteed by the figure for the number of artabas, but they add up to only 638½ drachmas, a sum which cannot be read in this line. The sum certainly ends in 2 dr. 3 ob., and there is no real doubt about the nu (=50) before this. The only plausible figure ending in 52 dr. 3 ob. which is a multiple of 17½ is 752 dr. 3 ob. Only a horizontal stroke at the start survives of the first letter/figure of the numeral, but this would seem to be consistent with psi (there is no other psi in the papyrus with which to compare it). A sum of 752½, however, involves adding 113½ to the total of lines 14–24, the equivalent of the amount due for an additional 650 artabas. The simplest explanation is to suppose that the scribe making the copy missed out by mistake one or more probably two individual entries.

25–7 *Ὁν ἑκατοστὰί* in connection with shipping contracts cf. XXXIII 2670 34–6 n., XLIX 3484 13–15 n., and Meyer-Termecr, op. cit. 17–18, who speaks of amounts of ½%, 1%, 5% and 10%; for a very early example see now P. Prag. I 54.4 (AD 19–21). Meyer-Termecr, however, is concerned only with additional amounts, not a deduction as here. Such deductions are commonly attested in the early 4th century, usually in connection with *vestis militaris*, and are always of 6½%. A few documents from the Roman period show a deduction of 6½%, for which see P. Graux III, pp. 54–7. In our text the percentage is not specified and it should be noted that at this period a deduction of 1½% is also attested, as in P. Köln II 94 (213), where see the note to lines 24–6.

25–6 τὰς *συνήθως* *προτι[θ]εμένας τῷ κυριακῷ λόγῳ*: cf. BGU III 697 = W. Chr. 321.19 (145), τὰς *συνήθ(ως) διδομ[έ]νας* (*ἑκατοστὰς*) *ἐξ ἡμ[ι]ν*. For the use of *προσέθημι* compare BGU 620 = W. Chr. 186.13–15 (c. 302), as emended by Youtie, *TAPA* 87 (1956) 69–73 = *Scriptumculae* I 265–9; *ἐξ [ῶ]ν [ἴ]σοι λογιόντε* (l. –ται) *ὑπὲρ ἑκα[τ]οστῶν ἐξ ἡμ[ι]ν* κα[τὰ] *πρ[ο]σετέθη ἐν τοῖς κυριακοῖς λόγο[ι]ς*, and P. Graux III 30, col. 7, 25–6, *ἐξ ὧν ὑπολογισάντες τὰς αἰροσὰς ὑπὲρ ἑκατοστῶν ἐξ ἡμ[ι]ν δραχμὰς ... πρόσθεθε τῷ κυριακῷ λόγῳ*. In SB XVI 13049.17, *πρ[ο]σθεθε τῷ κυριακῷ λόγῳ* may well be part of a similar clause, see P. Graux III, pp. 55–6. For other examples of *ἑκατοστὰί* being credited to the fiscus see BGU VII 1564.9, SB XVIII 13367.7–8 and P. Beatty Panop. 1.397.

27 *λάβετε*: all the parallels would lead us to expect this word, but it is not an easy reading; in particular the initial letter is not at all like the writer's other lambdas. *δέξαθε* cannot be read.

28 A different strategus was in office by Vespasian's fifth year, see Bastianini and Whitehorn, op. cit. 89. Beta is a doubtful reading, but is less improbable than the alternatives.

29 The reading after *σεβαστοῦ* is very uncertain. *σεβαστοῦ μη[θ]ε C]εβαστοῦ* has also been considered but is less likely. The first letter after *σεβαστοῦ* is most like tau, hence the reading suggested. In the reign of Vespasian *σεβαστή* is attested for the 8th in BGU III 981.i.35 (Pharmuthi), II 276.4 (Sebastos = Thoth), and I 165.26 = *BASP* 31(1094) 23–6 (Mecheir; see the note ad loc.), the 20th in BGU 981.ii.5 (Pharmuthi), and the 21st in XLIX 3508 37 (Pharmuthi; see Hübner's note in the original publication in *ZPE* 24 (1977) 53).

J. DAVID THOMAS

## 4527. TAX ACCOUNT

46 5B.51/F(2–4)B

12 × 26.5 cm

After 28 August 185  
Plate XVII

This document, preserving the ends of lines from one column and a few initial letters from the next, relates not to Oxyrhynchus but to the Arsinoite nome. Its



interest comes from the huge figure of over 800,000 artabas of wheat in 7, apparently the total revenue from wheat taxes for Heracleides' division of the Arsinoite nome for the 25th year of Commodus (184/5). See further 7 n.

This piece was cut from the document and has survived because it was re-used on the back for a letter (4544) which was sent to Oxyrhynchus.

	Col. i		Col. ii
	] .		[
	Ἡρ]ακλειδου μεριδος		λ[
	] .		[
	?δ πρ]οστρατηγῆσας Ἀπολλώνιος		[
5	] ὑπὲρ φόρων κε (ἔτους)		[
	Κομμό]δου Ἀντωνί[ν]ου Καίσαρος		[
	] . (πυρ. ἀρτ.) (μυρ.) <sup>πα</sup> Δωξβ Λγ κδ μη ρς		[
	] (ἀρτ.) (μυρ.) <sup>ε</sup> Δωμα κδ'		[
	] (ἀρτ.) Β'βλ		[
10	] (ἀρτ.) Ἄτοε Λγ κδ		ε[
	] (ἀρτ.) νη ιβ'		[
	] (ἀρτ.) α		[
	] (ἀρτ.) ιβ ιβ'		[
	ἐδηλ]ώθησαν μεμετρήσθαι		κλ[
15	] . του Μεσορη (πυρ. ἀρτ.) (μυρ.) <sup>κβ</sup> Γφπα γιβ		τ[
	] (ἀρτ.) (μυρ.) <sup>β</sup> Δφπθ Λμη		[
	] ξς Λδ'		[

5 κε<sup>L</sup>      7, 15 ιο      8, 16 ρο      9-13 ρο

	] . . .
	]of the division of Heracleides
	] .
	]the preceding strategus Apollonius
5	]in respect of the taxes of the 25th year of
	]Commodus Antoninus Caesar
	] (artabas of wheat) 814,862 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> <sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup> <sub>24</sub> <sup>1</sup> <sub>48</sub> <sup>1</sup> <sub>96</sub>
	] (art.) 54,841 <sup>1</sup> <sub>24</sub>
	] (art.) 2,930

10	] (art.) 1,375 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> <sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup> <sub>24</sub>
	] (art.) 58 <sup>1</sup> <sub>12</sub>
	] (art.) 1
	] (art.) 12 <sup>1</sup> <sub>12</sub>
	] were declared to have been paid
15	] . Mesore (art. wheat) 223,581 <sup>1</sup> <sub>3</sub> <sup>1</sup> <sub>12</sub>
	] (art.) 24,589 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> <sub>48</sub>
	] 66 <sup>1</sup> <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> <sub>4</sub>

1 The trace is a large oblique stroke, perhaps attached to a number (cf. 17 where a similar stroke marks a fraction) or forming part of an abbreviation. Part of upsilon is also possible, although the examples surviving in the text do not have this form.

2 Ἡρ]ακλειδου μεριδος. This document originated in Heracleides' division of the Arsinoite nome, doubtless as part of the correspondence of the strategus of that division whose name will have been lost to the left here. Cf. the next note. Then it was re-used in the Heracleopolite nome, when Eudacmon sent his letter (4544 3) to Hegumenus, who presumably lived in Oxyrhynchus.

4 ?δ πρ]οστρατηγῆσας Ἀπολλώνιος. An Apollonius is recorded as strategus of Heracleides' division of the Arsinoite nome from 2 May 184 to August 185, see G. Bastianini—J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 32-3. This span covers almost all of the 25th year of Commodus (184/5), see 5-6. An acting-strategus was in post on 18 September, and a proper replacement (Apollotas) by November-December, see Bastianini—Whitehorne, op. cit. 33. Since not only is Apollonius now out of office, but the implication of lines 5 and 15 is probably that Commodus' 25th year has ended, 4527 must be dated after 28 August 185. This also gives us a *terminus post quem* for dating the private letter 4544.

5-7 The account that follows is apparently dealing with the taxes for a whole year: ὑπὲρ φόρων κε (ἔτους). The imperial title is probably (although not certainly) to be completed as [Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Κομμό]δου Ἀντωνί[ν]ου Καίσαρος|τοῦ κυρίου; see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales* 89. This would mean that approximately half of the column is missing.

7 The figure here is strikingly high, although not without parallels. BGU VI 1217.31 (2nd cent. BC) has an amount of 895,000 artabas of wheat, but the purpose of the text is not clear. In BGU VIII 1760.21-23 (51/50 BC), we find a mention of 600,000 artabas, but this covers the whole of the *chora*, as the text, a letter from the diocetes Protarchus, shows clearly: παραμετρηθῆναι | τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν καθηκου[σίων ἐκ τῆς δ]λης | χώρας πυροῦ (μυρ.) ξ. H. C. Youtie published a tax account for the Oxyrhynchite nome in the 4th century AD in *ZPE* 32 (1978) 237-240 (= *Scripsiunculae Posteriores* II 501-4; SB XIV 12208), on which see the reconsideration by R. S. Bagnall/K. A. Worp in *ZPE* 37 (1980) 263-264. The total figure there for the grain taxes of the Oxyrhynchite nome, 321,278 artabas of wheat, is much lower than ours. This account does not follow the same pattern as our text and it is hard to understand the relationship between the next figures in our account; all headings before our figures are missing. When one compares Youtie's figure with ours, one wonders whether ours is too high to represent the amount of wheat collected for Heracleides' division alone. Moreover, according to Bagnall and Worp, the tax rate in the Arsinoite would have been lower than in the Oxyrhynchite. Nevertheless, there are several ways in which the discrepancy between the figures could be explained:

1. The whole Arsinoite nome had an estimated surface of 435,420 arouras (= 1200 km<sup>2</sup>) in the Ptolemaic period, see D. Rathbone, *PCPhS* 36 (1990) 130, whereas the Oxyrhynchite nome covered 202,544 arouras (= 560 km<sup>2</sup>) of arable land in the first half of the 4th century AD, see Rathbone, art. cit., 125. Given the fact that Heracleides' division amounted to roughly half of the Arsinoite nome (see map in P. Tebt. II, pl. II), and notwithstanding the fact that the respective figures differ considerably in time, the Oxyrhynchite nome and Heracleides' division probably had more or less the same surface under cultivation. However, the Arsinoite is known to have been intensively cultivated; this could have led to a considerably higher output than in other nomes, see R. S. Bagnall, *TAPhA* 115 (1985) 306.

2. Youtie's document is over a century later than **4527**, and conditions of management could have deteriorated.

3. Climatic variations between two harvests could have made a difference to yields, although D. Bonneau, *Le fisc et le Nil* 251, does not attribute any extraordinary quality to the flood of 184, the flood which would have determined the quality of 185's harvest.

P. SCHUBERT

#### 4528. REPORT OF PUBLIC DOCTORS

69/37(a) + 70/19(a)

12 × 24 cm

6 May 336

Under this number we republish LXIII **4366** together with an additional fragment which adjoins at the foot and completes the document. We now have a much clearer picture of the medical condition of the person examined. The new piece also contributes the exact date of the submission of the report. VI **901** and its duplicate LIV **3771**, likewise addressed to Flavius Julianus, date from five days earlier (1 May).

For a list of doctors' reports hitherto published see **4366** introd. (para 4); add now LXIV **4441** cols. i (= SB III 6003), ii (316), and **4529**.

ὑπατείας Οὐρίου Νεπωτιανοῦ καὶ Τε[ττίου]  
Φακούντου τῶν λαμ[προτάτων].

Φλαουτῷ Ἰουλιανῷ διοικοῦντι *κυνδικίαν* [\*Οξυρρυχίτου]  
παρὰ Αὐρηλίω Θεωνίνου καὶ Ἡρώνο καὶ Διδύ[μου]

- 5 καὶ Κυβανοῦ δημοσίων ἰατρῶν τῆς αὐτῆ[ς πόλεως.]  
ἐπεστάλημεν ὑπὸ τῆς ρῆς ἐμμελείας, ἐκ [βιβλιδίων]  
ἐπιδοθέντων ὑπὸ Αὐρηλίου Πτολεμαίου[ν c. 7 ]  
πρυτανεύσαντος τῶν αὐτόθι, ὥστε [ἐπ]ι[θεω]-  
[ρῆσαι τὸν] τούτου γεωργὸν, Ἄπιν τοῦ[νομα,]  
10 [κα]ὶ ἐν[γ]ρ[ά]φως προσφ[ω]γῆσαι τὴν τοῦ[του διά]-  
θεσιν. ὅθεν ἐπεθεωρήσαμε[ν αὐτὸν c. 7 ]  
[.] [c. 3 ἔχ]οντα ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιῦ ἔξω μέρους τοῦ  
τραχήλ[ου] ἀμυχὰς καὶ [ c. 6 ] [ c. 7 ]  
ὠμ[ο]πλάτης πελειωμάτ[ιο]ν [ c. 6 ]  
15 καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιῦ ἀγκῶνος ἀμυχ[ή]ν καὶ  
ἐπὶ τοῦ κάτω δεξιῦ βλεφάρου πελιωμάτιον,  
ὅπερ προσφωγόμεν.  
ὑπατείας τῆς προκ[ε]μένης Παχῶν ια.  
(m. 2) Αὐρηλίος Διδύμος ἐπειδέδωκα.  
20 (m. 3) Αὐρηλίος Ἡρῶν ἐπειδέδωκα.

2 l. Φακούντου; λαμ) 10 l. ἔγγράφος 13 v of ἀμυχὰς corr. 14 l. πελιωμάτων  
15 l. ἀγκῶνος 16 πελιωμάτων corr. from περι- 17 Final nu extended as filler stroke. Similar  
extensions in 18-19 18 προ<sup>κ</sup>? 19, 20 αυρ'; l. ἐπειδέδωκα

'In the consulship of Virius Nepotianus and Tettius Facundus, *virī clarissimi*.

'To Flavius Julianus, administering the office of the syndic of the Oxyrhynchite, from the Aurelii Theoninus and Heron and Didymus and Silvanus, public doctors of the same city.

'We were instructed by Your Diligence, as a result of a petition submitted by Aurelius Ptolemaeus, ..., former prytanis of this locality, to examine his farmer, Apis by name, and report this person's condition in writing. Wherefore we examined him ... having on the right part of the neck skin wounds, and ... shoulder-blade a slight bruising ..., and on the right elbow a skin wound, and on the lower right eyelid a slight bruising, which we report.

'In the aforesaid consulship, Pachon 11.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Didymus, have submitted this.'

(3rd hand) 'I, Aurelius Heron, have submitted this.'

4-5 The same four public doctors submitted XLIV **3195** ii of 331, and in all probability I **52** of 325, cf. **4366** 4-5 n. Two of the doctors, Heron and Didymus, were also concerned with VI **896** of 316 (a photograph shows that their subscriptions are in the same hands as here). An Aurelius Heron, son of Heron alias Dionysius appears in LIV **3729** 9-10 (307), and it may be that we are dealing with the same individual in all these cases, see note ad loc. (Note that from 325 onwards the doctors no longer state their patronymics.) There is no way of knowing whether Didymus, one of the four doctors involved in **4370** of 354, is the same person as the one here.

The number of public doctors in each municipality was fixed, see **4366** introd. It may be worth considering whether in Oxyrhynchus public doctors were four in number, at least for the period 316 to 354. We know of four doctors active in 316 (Heron and Didymus in **896**, Aurelius Sarapion, son of Herodotus in **4441** i, and Aurelius Dioscorus, son of Heron in **4441** ii), while a college of four doctors appears in **52** (probably), **3195** ii, **4528** and **4370** (354). But in **4529** of 376 we find three public doctors. Whether this signifies a decrease in the number of doctors, or is a coincidence, there is no means of telling.

7 Πτολεμαίου. This former prytanis is not known from elsewhere, cf. **4366** 7 n. In view of πρυτανεύσαντος in line 8, it is likely that some other office held by Ptolemaeus followed at the end of this line, probably abbreviated. γυμνασιαρχήσαντος is one possibility; βουλευτοῦ may also be considered, but we would normally expect it to have followed after πρυτανεύσαντος.

13 ἀμυχὰς. See also 15. The only other papyrological occurrences of the word are I **52** 16 and XLIV **3195** ii 46. The word thus seems peculiar to reports submitted by the same doctors, see above 4-5 n.

At the end of the line supplement ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς (or ἀριστερᾶς)? For similar constructions cf. PSI V 455.14-15 (178), **4441** i 10 (316).

17 ὄπερ. ἄπερ is used in **3195** ii 48; in XLV **3245** 17 of 297 ἄπερ is restored. If we are to assume stylistic uniformity in reports submitted by the same doctors (cf. above 13 n.), either form seems to have a better claim as a supplement than [δὲ] in **52** 17.

19-20 Only two of the four doctors, Didymus and Heron, added their signatures; Theoninus and Silvanus did not subscribe. In **3195** ii we find the signatures of Theoninus, Heron, and Silvanus, but not that of Didymus. VI **896** is subscribed by both the doctors responsible for the report (Didymus, son of Dioscorus, and Heron).

N. GONIS

## 4529. REPORT OF PUBLIC DOCTORS

40 5B.112/B(4-5)a

16.5 × 14.5 cm

22 June 376

The upper part of a report submitted by a college of three doctors to the logistes concerning the examination of a *stationarius* at Oxyrhynchus; the lost portion will have contained the details of the latter's medical condition. Compare LIV 3729 9-10 of 307, where the person examined is a *ducenarius*.

The text provides a fixed date for the logistes Flavius Macrobius; he may well be the same as the Macrobius in P. Wash. Univ. I 54.5, assigned to the fourth/fifth century, see below 3 n. His predecessor is likely to have been Flavius Sarapodorus, last recorded as logistes in XLVI 3310, of 26 January-24 February 374. Macrobius' nearest known successor is Paulus, attested in office on 2 September 381 (PSI X 1108). The Oxyrhynchite logistae attested from after 346 are listed by P. J. Sijpesteijn, K. A. Worp in M. Capasso *et al.*, *Miscellanea Papyrologica* II (Pap. Flor. XIX) 518.

The back, so far as it is preserved, is blank.

ὑπατέρις τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐάλεντος τὸ ε καὶ  
 Οὐαλεντιανοῦ νέου τὸ ας τῶν αἰωνίων Ἀργοῦ(ύ)στων, Παῦνι κη.  
 Φλαοῦτῳ Μακροβίῳ λογιστῇ Ὁξυρνηχίτου  
 παρὰ Ἀὐρηλίῳν [ . . . ] υ καὶ Διονυσίου καὶ Εὐδαίμωνος  
 5 τῶν τριῶν δη[μοσίων ἱ]ατρῶν τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.  
 ἔ[πεσ]τάλημεν ὑ[π]ὸ τῆς σῆς ἐμμελείας ἐκ βιβλιδίῳ(ν)  
 ἐπιδοθέντων σοι ὑπὸ Φλαοῦτου Φιλοξένου  
 στατιωναρ[ίου ὡς] τε { τοῦτον } ἐπιθεωρήσαι τὴν περι  
 αὐτὸν διάθεσιν [καὶ ἐ]γγράφως προσφωνήσαι. ἔθεν  
 10 τοῦτον ἐπεθεω[ρήσαι] μεν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἔχοντα  
 scanty traces on loose fibres

4 l. Εὐδαίμωνος; -ος added

6 l. ἐμμελείας; βιβλιδίῳ

9 l. ἐγγράφως

In the consulship of our masters Valens for the 5th time and Valentinianus *junior* for the 1st time, perpetual Augusti, Pauni 28.

To Flavius Macrobius, logistes of the Oxyrhynchite, from the Aurelii ... and Dionysius and Eudaemon, the three of them public doctors of the same city.

'We were instructed by your Diligence, as a result of a petition submitted to you by Flavius Philoxenus, *stationarius*, to examine his condition and report in writing. Wherefore we examined him in the city ...'

1-2 For the conversion of the date see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* 100, 114. For the consuls see R. S. Bagnall *et al.*, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 287.

3 For Macrobius see introd. P. Wash. Univ. I 54.5 has Μακροβίου Ἰουλιανοῦ λογι[στροῦ] (but theoretically λογι[στροῦ] is also possible). It is tempting to identify his father with Flavius Julianus, another Oxyrhynchite logistes, who also held a number of other important posts, see LIV pp. 225-6, and LX 4086, 4090, 4092. Flavius Julianus was the son of another logistes, Valerius Dioscurides alias Julianus, see 4092 introd. If the identification has any chance of being true, this would be the fourth generation of this important Oxyrhynchite family to be known to us.

There is a possibility that this Macrobius is the same person who figures as Flavius Macrobius *πολιτευόμενος*, the addressee of the petition P. Wash. Univ. I 20 (IV) (the *curator civitatis* was a member of the local *ordo curialis*). P. Wash. Univ. II 83.1 (late IV/early V) also refers to a Macrobius *πολιτευόμενος*, and it is conceivable that we are dealing with the same *curialis* in both cases, despite the absence of status indication (although the person mentioned next in this money account is a Flavius; in line 2 pl. XIIa suggests reading Φλ(άουτος) Θεόφιλος in place of [ ]ο( ) Θεόφιλος). The editor suggests an identification with the boat owner who appears in VII 1048 11, 14, likewise assigned to the late fourth/early fifth century. (Other Oxyrhynchite boat owners of the period are known to have been *curiales* and to have held senior offices in the local administration (Aëtius, Heraclius, Ptoleminus, Tatianus, Valerius); cf. also R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* 36-7.) In XVII 2110 23, of 370, there is a *riparius* called Macrobius; the connection of the *ripariate* with the *curial* class is well-known, and we know of *curatores* such as e.g. Eulogius and Dionysarius, cf. LIV pp. 228-9, who also became *riparii* at some stage of their careers. The Macrobius in SB XVI 12523 (394), an official order regarding taxation issues, is obviously a person of some standing, cf. M. Manfredi, *Scritti Montecoschi* 209-10. The Macrobius who occurs in XXIV 2408 3, of 397, is apparently an *ἐπιμελητής* *κίρον* Ἀλεξανδρείας, cf. F. A. J. Hoogendijk, *ZPE* 112 (1996) 172 on a 3-4—such *ἐπιμεληταί* were councillors, cf. P. Turner 45.6 n., P. Laur. IV 162.4-5 (354), P. Wash. Univ. II 82.6 (367). Naturally, it is hard to tell whether all of these are the same. Note that XVII 2110 besides the *riparius* also attests a Macrobius son of the *βουλευτής* Theon (3, *et passim*); and we know nothing about the progeny of the well-known logistes Flavius Paeanius alias Macrobius, for whom see LX 4089 introd. The Macrobius *ἀπὸ ἡγεμονίων* in 4089 33, of 351, is perhaps too early for our considerations. Note also that PSI VIII 944.10 (364/6?) attests a Macrobius *προπολιτευόμενος*; the provenance of the document is unknown, but Oxyrhynchus seems a good candidate.

4 [ . . . ] υ. A short name, i.e. not of one of the doctors known from elsewhere.

Διονυσίου. This public doctor is not otherwise known.

Εὐδαίμωνος (l. *Εὐδαίμωνος*). The scribe first wrote *Εὐδαίμων* with the nu enlarged, as if it were the last letter in the line (he did this also in lines 3 and 7), and later added *ος*. In LIX 4001, assigned to the late fourth century, a Eudacmon writes back to his family at an *ιστρίον* which seemingly served as their home, presumably in Oxyrhynchus. A doctor named Eudacmon is the sender of the unprovoked letter P. Fouad 80, assigned to the fourth century, but an identification seems impossible. The letter mentions a financial transaction; the sum of money involved in it, three talents (line 15), points to a date not later than the early years of the century.

5 τῶν τριῶν δη[μοσίων ἱ]ατρῶν. See LXIII 4366 introd., 4528 4-5 n.

7 This Flavius Philoxenus has not been attested anywhere else.

8 στατιωναρ[ίου]. On *stationarii* and their grades see LXIII 4382 2 n. with the literature cited there; to the examples one can cull from the latest version of the DDBDP (PHI 7) add SB XX 15.185.9 (VII). They were originally army officers in charge of police duties, but later the term was used with reference to police officers of a lesser rank. Philoxenus' status designation Flavius squares with a military capacity; and SB XVIII 13251.4-5, only four years earlier than our text (372), attests a *stationarius* of the higher level, Flavius Ammonius. *Stationarii* of the lower sort turn up in 4382 of 383 (or thereabouts, see 1 n.), and from then on most of the *stationarii* who occur in the papyri are of that variety.

10 ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως. Cf. LXIII 4370 12; XLV 3245 14 (297) has ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει.

N. GONIS

## 4530. UNDERTAKINGS TO SERVE

7 1B1/XI-XII(c)

11.5 × 17 cm

17 and 18 November 288 (?)

The two documents which are preserved formed part of a *τάμος συγκολλήσιμος*. The first is mostly complete except for the loss of the first two or three lines; of the

second, apart from the same loss at the top, only the left-hand portion survives. The main hand of both documents is very similar and may well be the same. The back is blank.

Both texts are similar undertakings, on oath, to help with providing bread for the soldiers. In the first the writer specifically states that he will go upriver to work at the bakery at Panopolis and the same was probably true in the second document. The drafting of tradesmen for this and similar purposes is discussed by F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, 82–88 and 431, who stresses that it was a practice which had developed by the early Byzantine period into (p. 85) 'ein allgemeines System der Beschaffung von Arbeitskräften für staatliche Betriebe'. In addition to the evidence quoted by Oertel see that referred to by E. Wipszycka, *Chr. d'Ég.* 35 (1960) 214–15, and H. Braunert, *Die Binnenwanderung*, 314–5; add XLVI 3308. In 4530 the tradesmen are bakers. The requisitioning of the services of bakers from the Arsinoite for bakeries at Memphis is attested in P. Sakaon 23 = P. Théad. 38 (324) and for bakeries at Alexandria in P. Sakaon 25 iv = P. Théad. 36 (327), and of bakers from the Panopolite to serve in τὰ κάστρα in the Upper Thebaid in P. Beatty Panop. 1.77–9, 188–91. On similar services required for the army in Egypt in the Diocletianic period see A. K. Bowman, *BASP* 15 (1978) 34–38.

It is noteworthy that the writer of the first document has provided no less than three guarantors, all of them comarchs, whereas the writer of the second provides the usual single guarantor. Formally the oaths sworn by the writers of 4530 are more or less identical to those sworn by liturgists or their guarantors, of which lists are given in N. Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt*,<sup>2</sup> 117, and W. M. Brashear, *BGU* XIII, p. 68. For similar oaths sworn by persons other than liturgists see Lewis, *op. cit.* 84, n. 17, and A. Jördens, *P. Heid.* V, pp. 205–6. The addressee in both documents is lost but was undoubtedly the strategus. He is the recipient of all undertakings of this kind until the introduction of the logistes at the beginning of the fourth century (cf. Lewis, *op. cit.* 84). The most remarkable feature of the present papyrus is that it comes from the Heracleopolite nome, to which all the four villages mentioned belong. This would not be surprising in the Roman period; at that time strategi served in a nome which was not their idia and we have numerous papyri which they must have brought back with them to their home nome after their period of service elsewhere was over. Are we to suppose from the present document that this was still the rule in the early years of Diocletian's reign? This would be the easiest explanation for the presence of this papyrus at Oxyrhynchus; cf. perhaps XLIII 3123 with line 3 n.

The texts were written on two consecutive days, but the year is uncertain. It belongs to the period when Diocletian and Maximian were sole emperors, i.e. before the creation of the Caesars on 1 March 293. The extreme limits therefore are 17–18 November 285 to 17–18 November 292. Year 5 and 4 seems the least improbable reading, but the figures are very damaged and cannot be regarded as at all certain; see further line 38 n. We have no evidence for special military activity in the Panopolite region at this time, in contrast to the middle and late 290s, for which see Bowman, *BASP* 15 (1978) 25–38.

## Col i

[ c. 14 ] . [ . . . ] [ c. 5 ]  
 [Κο]λυταθ[ὸ]ρ . [ . . . ] Νίνω. ὁμολο-  
 [γῶ δ]μνὺς τὴν τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶ(ν)  
 [Διοκλ]ητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ  
 5 [Σεβ]αστῶν τύχην ἀνελθεῖν  
 [ἐπι] τὴν Πανὸς πόλιν καὶ ὑπηρε-  
 [τήσας]θαι τῷ καθαρουργίῳ τῷ ὑπη-  
 [ρετο]υμένῳ τῇ εὐθeneίᾳ τῶν  
 γενναιοτάτων στρατιωτῶν καὶ  
 10 παραμενεῖν ἐκεῖσε ἄχρις ἀπολύ-  
 σεως ἢ ἐνοχο[ε]ῖν τῷ ὄρκῳ.  
 παρέσχον δὲ ξιμαυτοῦ ἐγγυητῆς  
 Αὐρηλίου Ἀμμών[ιο]ν Ἐλ . ου  
 ἀπὸ Τωοῦ καὶ Σαραπίω[ν]α Ἀτρήου  
 15 [ἀ]πὸ Νίνω καὶ Σωτήριχον Γερμα-  
 [νο]ῦ ἀπ[ὸ] Κολυ[τα]θῶρ πάντα κω-  
 [μάρχας καὶ ἐπε]ρωτηθεῖς ὠμολόγησα.  
 [(ἔτους) . Διοκλ]ητιανοῦ καὶ (ἔτους) . S/Μαξιμιανοῦ  
 [τῶν κ]υρίων ἡμῶν Σ[ε]βαστῶν Ἀθὼρ κ̅α̅.  
 20 (m. 2) [Αὐρήλι]ος Μέλας ὄμασα τὸν ὄρκον  
 [ὡς πρόκειτ]αι. Αὐρήλιοι Ἀμμώνιος καὶ Σαρα-  
 [πίων καὶ] Σωτήριχος ἐγνωμέθα αὐτὸν  
 [καὶ ὠ]μῶσα' μὲν' ὡς πρόκειται. Αὐρήλιος  
 [ . . . ἔγρ]αψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γράμματα  
 25 [μὴ εἰδῶ]τω.

## Col ii

(m. 1?) Διοκλητι[α]ν[ο]ῦ καὶ  
 Μαξιμι[α]νοῦ Σεβαστ[ῶν] τύχην ἀν-  
 ελεύσεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν [Πανὸς πόλιν]  
 καὶ ὑπηρετήσασθαι . . . [ c. 6 ]

30 ἐργατικῶς ὑπηρετο[υμένω τῆ]  
 ἀρτοποιεία τῶν γε[ναιοτάτων]  
 στρατιωτῶν καὶ π[αραμενεῖν]  
 ἄχρις ἀπολύσεως. [παρέσχον δὲ τῆς]  
 ἔμαντοῦ παραμο[νῆς ἐγγνητὴν Ἀδρή-]  
 35 λιον Ἄνοδπιν Λεο[ c. 10 ἀπό]  
 κόμης Σάβθεω[ε καὶ ἐπερωτηθεῖς]  
 ὠμολόγησα). vacat [  
 (ἔτους) εS/καὶ . . . δS/τῶ[ν κυρίων ἡμῶν]  
 [Διο]κλητῆριαν[οῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν]  
 40 [Α]θῦρ κβ. (m. 3) Ἀδρή[λιος c. 7 ]  
 ὠμακα τὸν δρ[κον ὡς πρόκειται].  
 [Α]δρήλιος Ἄνοδ[πις ἐγγνώμαι αὔ-]  
 [τῶ]ν ὡς πρόκειται[ι. c. 12 ]  
 . . . ναρ ἔγραψα [ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀ-]  
 45 γραμμαμάτων. [

3 ημῶ	6 ὑπηρε-	7 ὑπη-1. καθαρουργεῖω	12 ἐγγ'νητας	18 L	20 I.
ὠμοκα	22 I. ἐγγνώμεθα	23 ὠ]μόκα'μην': alpha corrected from omega		29 I. ὑπηρετήσεσθαι',	
see note	35 λιον corrected from λιουε	37 ὠμολογ	38 L	41 I. ὠμοκα	

'... Kolintathyr and(?) Nino. I agree, swearing by the genius of our lords Diocletian and Maximian Augusti, to go upriver to Panopolis and to serve in the bakery which is serving the provisioning of the most noble soldiers and to remain there until release or may I be liable to (the penalties of) the oath. I have provided as my sureties Aurelii Ammonius son of ... from Toou and Sarapion son of Hatres from Nino and Soterichus son of Germanus from Kolintathyr, all comarchs, and in answer to the formal question I have given my assent.

Year 5(?) of Diocletian and year 4(?) of Maximian our lords the Augusti, Hathyr 21.<sup>2</sup> (2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Melas have sworn the oath as aforesaid.

'We, Aurelii Ammonius and Sarapion and Soterichus, guarantee him and have sworn as aforesaid.

'I, Aurelius ..., have written on their behalf as they do not know letters.'

(1st hand?) '... by the genius of Diocletian and Maximian Augusti to go upriver to Panopolis and to serve ... efficiently(?) serving the baking of bread for the most noble soldiers and to remain until release. I have furnished as surety for my remaining Aurelius Anupis son of Leo ... of the village of Sobthis and in answer to the formal question I have given my assent.

'Year 5(?) and year 4(?) of our lords Diocletian and Maximian Augusti, Hathyr 22.<sup>3</sup> (3rd hand) 'I, Aurelius ..., have sworn the oath as aforesaid.

'I, Aurelius Anupis, act as surety for him as aforesaid.

'I, Aurelius Pouar(?), have written on their behalf as they are illiterate.'

<sup>2</sup> [Κο]λινταθ[ύ]ρ [ . . . ] Νῖνω: both villages are attested for the Heracleopolite nome, although for Nino A. Calderini, S. Daris, *Dizionario*, III 363, give only one reference, SPP X 5.7 (where it is mentioned next to Kolintathyr); Suppl. I 210 adds BGU XIV 2429.6. For *Κολινταθῦρ* (also attested as *Κολλινταθῦρ* or *Κολλ(ιν)ταθῦρ*) see *Dizionario*, III 132 and Suppl. I 176.

The obvious restoration is κ[α]: Νῖνω, but the occurrence of two village names at this point is hard to explain. One would expect ὠμολογῶ to have been preceded by the idia of the person(s) concerned, which cannot be the case here: only one man is swearing the oath and so cannot have two village names for his idia. The possibility has been considered that we have a single village described as [Κο]λινταθ[ύ]ρ π[ι]ερ[ί]: Νῖνω. This could be a way of describing Kolintathyr as a village in the toparchy of Περὶ Νῖνω, since the majority of toparchies in the Heracleopolite were entitled Περὶ followed by the name of the principal settlement, see BGU XIV, App. 1; cf. M. R. Falivene, *Proc. XXth Int. Congress*, 204–9. The objections are (1): no toparchy Περὶ Νῖνω is otherwise attested and there is strong reason to think that Kolintathyr belonged in the toparchy Περὶ Τέκμη (see, e.g., BGU XIV 2437); (2) there is not really room for π[ι]ερ[ί] and we ought to see the descender of the rho. It seems therefore that we have to restore κ[α]: Νῖνω. The solution to the problem may lie in the fact that comarchs of three different villages act as his surety in lines 12–17, and we may therefore have the end of a clause stating that he is performing his public service on behalf of the three villages *Τωὸ καὶ Κο]λινταθ[ύ]ρ κ[α]: Νῖνω*. It was quite normal at this period for several villages to share the responsibility for supplying a single tradesman, see, e.g., XII 1426, P. Sakaon 23, PSI IX 1037; cf. P. Michaelid. 28.

<sup>3</sup>–5 For the form of the oath see K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 45 (1982) 200.

<sup>6</sup> For bakers at Panopolis serving troops there see P. Beatty Panop. 1.374–7, with Skeat's comments in the general introduction, p. xiii. This relates to 297 and 298, when there may have been special reasons for troops to be at Panopolis. For the supplying of troops and sailors at Panopolis with bread in large quantities in 281 see VIII 1115.

<sup>7</sup> τῶ καθαρουργεῖω: for καθαρουργεῖον and the related trade of καθαρουργός see Emanuela Battaglia, *'Arta'*, *Il lessico della banificazione nei papiri greci*, 145, 186–7.

<sup>12</sup> ff. Nearly all comparable documents mention only a single surety, although two sureties occasionally occur. Three sureties for a single person is very unusual. It may be connected with the fact that the sureties are comarchs; cf. the occurrence of village πρεβύτεροι as a body acting as sureties in PSI VII 734 and P. Oxy. Hells. 20. For comarchs as sureties cf. P. Michaelid. 28, PSI III 162 and P. Vindob. Sijp. 5.

<sup>13</sup> ΕΛ . ου: Ἐλένου is not probable.

<sup>14</sup> Τωὸδ: also attested as Τωὸ; see *Dizionario* V 44.

<sup>18</sup>–<sup>19</sup> If line 38 is correctly taken to refer to years 5 and 4 of Diocletian and Maximian, we should expect the date here to belong to the same year; the figure for Maximian's year-number is far from clear, but delta is not impossible. The titles of Diocletian and Maximian are very rarely attested in the form found here. R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas*, 6, quote only SB V 8199 and PSI III 184.19–20, to which we can now add L 3571 17–18. It is noteworthy that both the last two texts are also from the Heracleopolite.

<sup>26</sup>–<sup>27</sup> The restoration at the end of line 26 is noticeably shorter than those in the lines following, which are mostly reasonably secure and in any case cannot be shorter. No other restoration seems possible, however; there is certainly not room to give Maximian's full names.

<sup>28</sup> The restoration is of course not certain, but it suits the space and it is reasonable to suppose that both documents refer to the drafting of tradesmen to Panopolis.

<sup>29</sup>–<sup>30</sup> After ὑπηρετήσεσθαι (no doubt intended for the future) it is not possible to read τῶ (as in line 7). The first letter is rounded and is most probably epsilon or sigma; a possible reading is ἐν τῶ, but καθαρουργεῖω τῶ is much too long for the space available after this.

<sup>30</sup> ἐργατικῶς ὑπηρετο[υμένω]: the adverb ἐργατικῶς does not seem to have occurred before in the papyrus and instances of the adjective, nearly all of which are used with reference to donkeys, are not helpful in the

present context (it is not possible to read *ἐργατικῶν* with, e.g., *δύων* in the previous line). τὸ *ἐργατικόν*, which occurs in 4544 7, is equally enigmatic. It may be worth comparing P. Flor. II 157, a letter ordering sustenance to be provided for workers *ἵνα ὑπηρετούμενοι προθύμως ἡμῖν ἐργάζωνται*, where *προθύμως* is no doubt to be taken with the participle as well as the main verb. *ὑπηρετεῖσθαι* is nearly always used personally in the papyrus, which might suggest that we should restore *ὑπηρετοῦμενος* (the future participle is not possible). But the presence of *ὑπηρετεῖσθαι* in the previous line as well as the formula used in lines 6–8 supports the restoration proposed, however we restore the words before *ἐργατικῶς*.

31 On *ἀρτοποιεῖν* see CPR IX 26.21 n. and Battaglia, op. cit. 132–3. For the supplying of *ἀρτος* to soldiers at this period cf. XII 1572, XLIII 3124, P. Sakaon 20 and 21 ii (=P. Flor. 60 and P. Théad. 31).

32 There is not room to supply *ἐκεῖσε* (as in line 10); there may just be room for *ἐκεῖ*, but it is not essential.

33 Instead of *ἀπό, κομάρχη* is a possibility; cf. lines 16–17.

35 *Κώβθεω*: a village in the *Περί Πόλιν* toparchy; see *Dizionario* IV 326 and Suppl. I 237. For links between villages in this toparchy and those in *Περί Τέκμη* (cf. line 2 n.) see Falivene, art. cit. 205.

38 The reading is very uncertain. Just before the papyrus breaks off we have the top of a reasonably clear delta, but the marks which follow rule out the reading *Διοκλητιανῶς*. These marks are probably to be interpreted as part of a spiral sign and an oblique dash, such as regularly follow year numbers at this period. The figure at the start of the line, after the symbol for *ἔτους*, is a fairly certain epsilon (theta is less probable). It is most likely therefore that the document is to be dated to years 5 and 4 of Diocletian and Maximian. The problem is that there are ink marks between *καί* and the probable delta, which would appear to serve no purpose.

44 . . . *ναρ: ωρ* is less probable. *Πουάρ* is possible, with *Ἀνρίλιος* in the preceding line.

45 There is a space after *ἡ γραμμῶν*, which suggests *δύτων* was not written.

J. DAVID THOMAS

#### 4531. REPORT TO THE STRATEGUS

17 2B.56/D(c)

6.8 × 18.5 cm

28 June 196

Harpocraton son of Harpocraton, ex-secretary of property formerly belonging to Julius Theon, was required by a centurion to go to the Hermopolite nome to take action in connection with grain taxes owing. As he was prevented from doing this by illness, he arranged with another man of the same name, Harpocraton son of Ophellion, to perform the duty in his stead. This arrangement needed to be ratified by the centurion (19–21) and reported to the strategus.

For Julius Theon, see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *The Family of the Tiberii Iulii Theones (Studia Amstelodamensia* 5, 1976); L 3588; LXII 4336; J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt* (1996) 107–8. We already knew that the family had estates in the Hermopolite as well as the Oxyrhynchite, see P. Theon. 11.

The main hand is neat and mostly unligatured. The back is blank.

Λουκρητίω Νεῖλω στρ(ατηγῶ)  
παρὰ Ἀρποκρατίωνος  
Ἀρποκρατίωνος θέσει  
Ἀσκληᾶ ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων

5 πόλεως γενομένου γραμ  
ματέως [τ]ῶν πρότερον  
Ἰο[υ]λίου Θεώνος. ἐξ ἔ(ν)  
κελεύσεως Αἰμελλίου  
Ἀμμωνιανῶ ἑκατον-  
10 τάρχου ὁμολογῶ διὰ τῆ(ν)  
περ[ι] ἐμὲ νόσον καὶ ας[.]  
λιαν τῶν κελευσθέντων(ν)  
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μετρηθῆναι[ι]  
εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἐν προ-  
15 χρεῖα ὑπὲρ γεωργῶν  
ἐχθέσεως α (ἔτους) καὶ β (ἔτους) τῶ[ν]  
αὐτῶν πρότερον Ἴου-  
λίου Θεώνος συνεστα-  
κῆναι κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα  
20 τῶ αὐτῶ κρατίστου  
ἑκατοντάρχου Ἀρπου-  
κρατίωνα Ὀφελλίω-  
νος μητρὸς Ἀριετῶ-  
τος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πό-  
25 λεως πορευόμενον  
εἰς Ἑρμοπολείτην με-  
θ' ἧς δίδωμι αὐτῶ χει-  
ρικῆς ἐχθέσεως τοῦ  
αὐτοῦ α (ἔτους) καὶ β (ἔτους) καὶ πα-  
30 ραστήσαντα τοὺς δι'  
αὐτῆς ὀφείλοντας  
γεωργοὺς καὶ πάντα  
ποιήσαντα. (ἔτους) δ  
Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος  
35 Λουκίου Σεπτίμου  
Κεουήρου Εὐσεβ[ο]ῦ  
Περτίνακος Σεβαστοῦ  
Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηκκο[ῦ],  
Ἐπειδὴ δ-

40(m. 2) Ἀρποκρατίων ὁ προτετα-  
γμένος ἐπιδέδωκα.

(m. 3) Ἀρποκρατίων Ὁφελίω(νος) εὐδοκῶ.

1 στρβ 7 ἰουλιου, ε- l. ἐγκελεύσεως 8 l. Αἰμιλίου 9-10 l. Ἀμμωνιανὸς ἑκατοντάρχου  
10 ττγ 12 κελυθεντω 16 l. ἐκθέσεως; § twice; τ of τῶν corr. 17-18 ἰουλιου  
21 22 l. Ἀρποκρατίων 27-8 l. ἐπιτελεσεως 29 αδ; a corr. ββ 30 l. στήριοντα  
31 φ of ὀφειλοντας corr. or rewritten 33 L 40 Paragraphus above this line by m. 2 41 δωκα  
a correction 42 οφελίω

‘To Lucretius Nilus, strategus, from Harpocraton son of Harpocraton, by adoption son of Asclas, from the city of the Oxyrhynchī, former secretary of the property formerly belonging to Julius Theon. By order of Aemilius Ammonianus, centurion, because of my illness and the . . . quantities ordered by him to be paid to the state in advance on account of the tenant-farmers’ arrears for the 1st year and 2nd year for the said property formerly belonging to Julius Theon, I acknowledge that in accordance with the decision of the said most distinguished centurion, I have deputed Harpocraton son of Ophellion, his mother being Aristos, from the same city, to go to the Hermopolite with the list of arrears in grain for the said 1st year and 2nd year, which I hereby give to him, and to produce the tenant-farmers who are named in it as debtors, and to do everything (necessary). Year 4 of Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus, Epeiph 4.’

(2nd hand) ‘I, Harpocraton the aforesaid, presented this.’

(3rd hand) ‘I, Harpocraton son of Ophellion, assent.’

1 Lucretius Nilus was already known as strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome. 4531 provides a new earliest date for his tenure. His nearest known predecessor is Aurelius Apollinarius, in office in 195/6. See Bastianini and Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 95.

5-6 A γραμματεὺς of Julius Theon is attested in XXXVIII 2865 (Heras, c. 122/3); also 2867 (name lost, 127).

6-7 Land πρότερον Ἰουλίον Θέωνος is mentioned in XII 1475 17-18 (267), cf. also P. Erl. 17.7.

8-10 An Aemilius Ammonius, presumably not the same person, is recorded as a centurion of the second cohort of the *legio II Traiana Fortis* in *CIL* III 6580 i 11 = *ILS* 2304 (194), and also in *PSI* VI 704.

11-12 και αε. [ ]λιων. A puzzle. ἀρχολίαν, ἀκυλίαν and ἀφάλλ(ε)σιαν have been considered.

20 For the application of κράτιστος to a centurion cf. O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate* 21.

27-8 For an ἐκθεσις ἐπιτελεσεως see II 291 3-4; P. Laur. II 39.

U. SCHLAG

#### 4532. EXTRACT FROM Βιβλιοθήκη Ἐγκτήσεων

18 2B.71/D(h)

13 × 31 cm

27 January 85

A copy of a contract for the loan of 500 drachmas (for two months?) from Panemgeus to his son Apollonius, extracted from the register of the property record-office of the nome. The loan was obviously registered with the property record-office because of the potential involvement of real property in the event of non-repayment,

see 16. For the record-office (βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων) see H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht* (1978) 49-51, 53-5, 222 ff.

For the extract formula, 1, cf. XIV 1649 1, XXXVIII 2848 1. Most of the clauses of the loan contract itself are closely paralleled by XLVII 3351 of AD 34 (the date is 20 February, not 27 February, see R. Ziegler, *ZPE* 91 (1992) 92). Like 3351, 4532 alleges itself to be interest free; for references to discussions of this and other aspects of money loans see 3351 introd.; LXI 4124 13 n.

None of the persons named appears in B. W. Jones and J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Register of Oxyrhynchites* (ASP 25, 1983).

The line beginnings have been lost, but otherwise the sheet is almost complete, with a deep lower margin of 18 cm in which the horizontal strip construction is very clear, see P. Harr. II 214 introd.

There is a manufacturer's (three layer) kollesis towards the ends of the lines. Immediately to the right of this, the structure is unexpectedly complicated, with signs of an additional overlapping layer of horizontal fibres and of glue staining. This remains unexplained.

The back is blank.

[ἐκκλημψις ἐκ τῆς τῶν] ἐγκτήσεων τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχείτου βιβλιοθήκης,  
[χρηματικῶν ἀγορα]νομικῶν, μέσης τοπαρχίας. ἔτους τετάρτου  
[Ἀδοκράτορος Καίσαρος] Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, Μεχειρ β-,  
[ἐν κώμῃ Νεμέρων. ἐδάν]εισεν Πανεμγεὺς Πετεριρίωνος τοῦ Κουώτος  
5 [μητρὸς c. 10 ἀ]πὸ κώμης Ἐσέφθα τῆς κάτω τοπαρχίας [[τοῦ]]  
[καταγινόμενος ἐν] τῇ προκειμένη κώμῃ Νεμέρων τῷ ἑαυτοῦ υἱῷ  
[Ἀπολλωνίῳ μητρὸς 1-2]. ὄνιος τῆς Ἀπολλωνίου Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς  
[ἀργυρίου Σεβα]στῶ νομίσματος δραχμῶν πεντακοσίας,  
[[γίνονται] (δραχμαὶ) φ κεφαλαίου] αἰς οὐδὲν τῷ καθόλου προσήκται, ἀε  
ἀποδό-  
10 [τω ὁ προκειμένος Ἀ]πολλώνιος τῷ πατρὶ Πανεμγεὶ τῇ λ- τοῦ Φαμενώθ  
[μηνὸς ?? Ἀδοκράτορος Καί]σαρος Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ χωρὶς  
[πάσης ὑπερθέσεως. ἐ]ὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδώ καθὰ γέγραπται, ἀποτεῖ-  
[ράτω ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος] τῷ πατρὶ Πανεμγεὶ τὸ προκειμένον  
[κεφάλαιον μεθ' ἡμιο]λίαις σὺν τοῖς τοῦ ὑπερπεσόντος χρόνου καθή-  
15 [κουὶ τόκοις, οὐση]ς αὐτῷ τῆς πράξεως ἐκ τε τοῦ δεδαινεῖ-  
[μένου καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρ]χόντων αὐτῷ πάντων καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης.  
[ c. 16 ] Πανεμγεὺς ὡς (ἐτῶν) ο ο(ὐλίη) ρεὺι μέση. Ἀπολλῶς  
[ aged xx ο(ὐλίη) ἀντικ]ημη(ῶ) ἀριστερῶι. ὁ γράφας Λε. . . c ὡς (ἐτῶν)  
κε ἄστημ(ος).

1 l. ἐγκτήσεων, Ὁξυρηνχίτου 4 v of Πανεμγεός a correction 12 Line filler at end 16 l.  
 εκ 17 L Form of abbreviation of ὀδλή not clear 1. βινί 18 ἀντικλητή, L, ἀνητ

'Extract from the property record-office of the Oxyrhynchite, (from the section) deeds drawn up in the *agoranomeion*, (referring to the) middle toparchy. The fourth year of Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, Mecheir 2, in the village of Nemerou. Panemgeus son of Petsirion and grandson of Cuos, his mother being x, from the village of Sespitha in the lower toparchy, residing in the aforesaid village of Nemerou, has loaned to his own son Apollonius, whose mother is -onis daughter of Apollonius, Persian of the Epigone, five hundred drachmas of silver of Augustan coinage, total 500 drachmas as capital to which absolutely nothing has been added, which the aforesaid Apollonius is to repay to his father Panemgeus on the 30th of the month Phamenoth ... Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus without any delay. But if he does not repay in accordance with what has been written, Apollonius is to pay his father Panemgeus the aforesaid principal plus one half together with the appropriate interest for the excess time, Panemgeus retaining the right of execution upon the borrower and upon all his property as if in consequence of a lawsuit. [ ?? ] Panemgeus, aged about 70, with a scar on the middle of his nose. Apollos [aged . . with a scar] on the left shin. The writer Le- aged about 25, without distinguishing mark.'

2 For ἀγορανομικοὶ χρηματισμοὶ cf. I 99 19, XXXIV 2720 7; also III 483 19–20, IX 1209 10–11, LX 4058 11–12.

6 Νεμέρων. We suppose the village was already named in 4. See P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell' Ossirinichite* 114–5. The village is known to have been in the middle toparchy, hence no doubt the reference to that toparchy in 2 here.

8 The supplement seems short for the space. Perhaps ἐν ἀγυῖά preceded, cf. III 506 11, XLIX 3485 6–7.

11 Restoration of the beginning of this line is a problem, since we still require a statement of the year (τοῦ αὐτοῦ κ (έτους)?) and what is transcribed is already too long. I do not think that we have *Ἀντοκράτορος*, i.e. that *Καίσαρος* was omitted. Most likely the repayment date was set for 30 Phamenoth in the same (4th, see 2) year, a two-month loan.

17–18 The last line and a half are written smaller and more rapidly, but are probably the work of the same hand: Πανεμγεός at least in 17 is in the same hand as what precedes, and the style has changed by the line end, providing no suitable intervening point for a change of hand.

J. L. CALVO MARTÍNEZ

#### 4533. WILL

8 1B.192/H (2–3)b

(a) 23 × 13 cm  
(b) 6.5 × 9 cm

Late first/early second century

The papyrus contains the will of a man named Achilles. Lines 1–19 are made up of four joining fragments. A smaller fragment (b) belongs below this, although its exact position is uncertain; see the note to lines 20–22. There are some offsets on the back. A list of wills was given by O. Montevecchi in *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 67–72, who included over 30 from Oxyrhynchus (several only published as *descripta*). This list was updated

by her in *La papirologia*, 208, and further examples are given in the introductions to P. Wisc. I 13 and P. Köln II 100. These two texts are to be added to Montevecchi's list of Oxyrhynchite wills in *Aegyptus*, as are PSI XII 1263, XX 2283, XXII 2348, XXXVII 2474 and XXXVIII 2857. The best discussion from a legal point of view of the type of will found in 4533 is still that by H. Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen* (1919).

Palaeographical considerations suggest the papyrus is to be dated to the second half of the first or the first half of the second century, the period from which nearly all examples of wills from Oxyrhynchus come. Most of the datable examples belong in the reign of Hadrian, but I 104 dates from the reign of Domitian and III 489 from that of Trajan. 4533 may be Hadrianic, but regnal titles of Vespasian also regularly end with *Κεβαστοῦ*, and there are occasional examples from the reigns of Domitian, Nerva and Trajan; see further line 8 n.

Like the majority of contemporary Oxyrhynchite wills (see III 489, introd.) it is written across the fibres. The formula used in several of these is more or less identical and it is clear that 4533 follows the usual pattern, thus enabling us to supplement most of the lost part at the left; the closest parallel is III 491 (126). The wording of lines 2 and 8 in particular appears certain, so that the length of the line can be firmly established.

If the supplement in lines 11–12 is correct (cf. line 6), and there is surely not room for anything more to have been included, Achilles merely states that the legatees are to be heirs of πάντων ὧν ἐὰν ἀπολίπω καθ' ὀνηροποῦν τρόπον. This is unusual in wills from the Roman period, which normally specify the particular property etc. which the testator is bequeathing. The wording here is reminiscent of some of the Petrie wills from the 3rd century BC, e.g. P. Petrie Wills 14.10–11, καταλείπω τὰ ὑπάρχ[ον]τά μοι πάντα; these are described as 'general legacies' by the editor in his table of the wills on pp. 26–9. More remarkable is the fact that Achilles is naming as his heirs (assuming the restorations in lines 4 and 10 are correct) ἂ ἐὰν ἔχω τέκνα καὶ Ἀμόιν καὶ Ζωίλου (note that nowhere does the writer add a diaeresis in either name). Amois and Zoilus were probably related to Achilles in some way (cf. line 5 n.). It is also unusual for the testator to state that any children he may subsequently have are to be his heirs in addition to the named heirs. Presumably at the time he made his will Achilles was childless and, since no mention is made of a wife, unmarried.

None of the persons attested in 4533 figures in B. W. Jones and J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Register of Oxyrhynchites, 30 BC–AD 96*.





'Year  $x$  of ... Augustus, 13th of the month Neos Sebastos, in the city of Oxyrhynchus in the Thebaid. For good fortune.

'Achillas son of Heraclius the son of Theon whose mother is Tapontos the daughter of Naarous of the city of the Oxyrhynchus has made this will in the street being sane and in his right mind. So long as I survive I am to have the power over my own property to make any further provisions or new dispositions I choose and to revoke this will, and any further provisions I make are to be valid. But if I die with this will unaltered I leave as my heirs any children I may have and Amois and Zoilus, both sons of Hatres the son of Alexas, their mother being Heraclous the daughter of Archias, of the same city ... in equal shares, each of them if he lives but if not his children, and if I have no children, solely the aforementioned Amois and Zoilus or whichever one of them survives, of all that I leave in any way whatsoever, on condition that those inheriting our property give within(?) one year from my death to ... the twenty silver drachmas which I bequeath him; no one at all is to have power to contravene these provisions and any person contravening them is to forfeit to the party abiding by them the damages and a fine of five hundred silver drachmas and an equal sum to the treasury, and the foregoing provisions shall none the less remain binding. The will is binding.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Achillas son of Heraclius the son of Theon, have made my will and after my death I leave as heirs any children I may have and Amois and Zoilus, both sons of Hatres, in equal shares, and if I have no children, solely Amois and Zoilus or whichever one of them survives, of all that I leave in any way whatsoever, on condition that those inheriting our property give within(?) one year of my death to ... twenty silver drachmas as aforesaid. I am 44 years old with a scar on the left shoulder and my seal is ... I, son of ... the son of Glaucias whose mother is Sambous, have written on behalf of my second cousin who does not know letters, and I am 50 years old without scar.'

(3rd hand) 'I, Thomoeris son of Thomoeris the son of Thomoeris whose mother is Demarous, of the same city, bear witness to the will of Achillas and I am sixty-four years old with a scar on the left eyebrow and my seal is the bust of Sarapis.'

(4th hand) 'I, Hecaton ... whose mother is Taammonion(?) of the same city, bear witness to the will of Achillas and I am ... years old ...'

(5th hand) 'I, ... son of Eudaemon the son of Diogenes whose mother is Isidora of the same city, bear witness to the will of Achillas and I am ... years old with a scar on the left ... and my seal is ...'

(6th hand) '...'

(7th hand) '... and my seal is Hermes.'

(8th hand) '... bear witness to the will of Achillas and I am ... years old ...'

1 On the date see the introduction.

ἐν Ὁξ(υρήνων) πόλει τῆς Θηβαίδος: this is the normal description of Oxyrhynchus in the early Roman period, even though it was not part of the Thebaid administrative district at this time but belonged in the Heptanomia; see J. David Thomas, *Ptolemaic Epistrategos*, 125–31. The description is rare after the middle of the second century, the latest example being III 495 from the 180s.

3 The supplement seems to be slightly long, but is the shortest of any of those found in parallel documents.

4 The supplement at the start follows the standard formula. After it, εὐ εἰδὼν τέκνα καὶ suits the size of the lacuna and would appear to be certain in view of line 10 and the words εἰδὼν δὲ μὴ ἔχω τέκνα in line 5. Provision for leaving property to children who may be born subsequently is occasionally mentioned in wills. In III 495 4 the testator leaves his son as heir if he is still alive, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἂ ἐὰν ἐχ[η] τέκνα καὶ τὰ ἐπεσόμενά μοι ἕτερα τέκνα ἢ ἐὰν μὴ γένηται μοι ἕτερα τέκνα. In P. Petrie Will 17 the testator leaves his property to his wife and (line 25) ἐὰν τί μοι ἐπιγένηται ἐξ αὐτῆς παιδίου (cf. the citor's note ad loc.). In BGU VII 1654 a man's heirs are his children and (probably) any γεννη[ο]μένους μοι τέκ[ε]ρ[ε]ς. The situation in the present text, however, where the property is to go to named heirs together with any children which the testator may subsequently have, is, so far as I can see, without parallel.

Ἀτρέως: as Youtie pointed out, *Scriptumculae* I 382 = TAPA 94 (1963) 330 n. 10, there is no doubt that Ἀτρέως is sometimes used as the genitive of Ἀτρήης rather than the genitive of Ἀτρέως. On the genitives of names in -ής see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* II 72–74; he recognises that the genitive can end in -εως but does not quote this in the case of Ἀτρήης (but he does quote it for Φατρήης). In the Roman period Ἀτρήης is far commoner than Ἀτρέως. Indeed, from this period I know of only one certain example of Ἀτρέως, P. Heid. IV 320.1 (198).

5 Before ἐξ ἔου the relationship of Amois and Zoilus to Achillas was presumably stated.

6 ἡμέτερα: the plural (also used in line 12) is unexpected.

6–7 It is quite common to find a small bequest for someone other than the main legatee(s), see E. Husseleman, TAPA 88 (1957) 136–7. Examples I have noted are I 104 25, III 583, 649, BGU IV 1151.6, P. Fay. 97.13, Stud.Pal. IV 116, P. Kron. 50.7 ff., P. Ups. Frid 1.16–17, SB VIII 9642(1).12–14 and (3).11–12. The closest parallel to the wording used here is I 104 22–5 (cf. BL V), where the principal legatee is the woman's son, but the testator adds καὶ δώσει ὁ ἀδ[ε]φ[ε]ρὸς υἱὸς τοῦ ἀδ[ε]φ[ε]ρ[ο]ῦ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς (δραχμῶν) πεσσαράκοντα. There the meaning is clear; here the problem is that the sense we expect is 'within one year of my death', but μετὰ normally means 'after' (cf. LSJ s.v. C.11.2).

ἀντὶφ proves that the name of this beneficiary must already have occurred earlier in this same line. 8 ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν πεντακοσίας: in other wills the penalty is usually 1000 drachmas, although higher amounts are attested: 2000 dr. in III 493 (undated), 3000 dr. in III 495 (180s), and 2 talents in III 494 (156) and PSI XII 1263 (undated). No other will has a penalty as low as 500 dr. The earliest attestation of 1000 dr. is III 489 of 117, which perhaps suggests that 4533 is earlier than 117 (but cf. lines 16–17 n.).

10 The restoration suggested fits neatly into the available space, since the sprawling second hand is somewhat larger than the first hand.

14 ff. For a list of seals attested in wills see P. Wisc. I, p. 53.

14–15 ἵππ[ο]ν τοῦ ἐξανέστητος. εἶσα is certain and, since we do not expect a name at this point, there would seem to be no alternative to the rare word ἐξανέστητος, attested in the papyri elsewhere only in II 270 4 and III 502 14; also in the inscription I. Alex. 29.16 = SB V 8780.

15 The name Θεομοῆρις is not attested elsewhere.

16–17 A man by the name of Hecaton, son of Sarapion and grandson of Hecaton, witnesses a will in I 105 14 of the reign of Hadrian; see also VI 968 (early 2nd cent.). The name is not common and he may well be the same man in all three documents. The hands in 105 and 968 are certainly the same and could be the same as the hand in 4533. If it is the same man, his seal is Sarapis.

17 ]μμωνίου: the pattern in the other entries suggests at this point the mother's name, in which case we should no doubt supply Τα]μμωνίου.

18 The point at which the fifth hand began is uncertain. ]θον[ may belong to the fourth hand, but it does not seem possible to read σφραγίς ]θρημ[ε]ς, as in, e.g., III 491 18 and 25.

20–22 Although this fragment cannot be attached to the main part of the will, it is very unlikely that any line has been completely lost. The text no doubt contained signatures by the usual six witnesses (hence the suggestion that line 20 is in a different hand from the lines preceding and following).

As there is a (horizontal) kollesis at the top edge of the small fragment, there is very limited scope for fibre comparison between the two fragments. Nevertheless, there are strong reasons for supposing that the small piece belonged at the extreme right. In the first place there is a space at the end of line 21 after Ερμούθ, which suggests the edge of the papyrus is preserved in this line. Secondly, parallels (e.g. I 105, III 489, 491, 634, Stud. Pal. IV 116) suggest that the registration mark of the record office should have been entered; for

example, 489 31-3 has  $\mu\upsilon\eta\mu\omicron\epsilon\upsilon\omega\varsigma$  Ὀξυρύνχ(ων) πόλλ(εως), followed by the date, then by *διαθήκη* and the name of the testator. If this was recorded in the left-hand part of the papyrus, as occurs for example in 105, we would then have a satisfactory explanation for why no trace of this is to be seen and why the five centimetres of papyrus remaining below line 22 are blank.

21 ες . . . : ἐκτι(ν) must have been intended but does not seem to have been written; the letter after ες looks like another sigma.

On the back, at the top left, there appear to be traces of four or five short lines written along the fibres, but in reality these are no more than offsets.

J. DAVID THOMAS

#### 4534. LEASE OF A LOOM

13 1B.128/H(a)

15.5 × 23.5 cm

2 October 335

Aurelius Gunthus leases a weaver's loom for a year to Flavius Iasion, a soldier, and Dioscorammon, a weaver of Tarsian garments. As rental the lessees are to weave a quantity of cloth each month for the lessor. The contract begins in objective form but changes at line 9 to a subjective form from the viewpoint of the lessees, but then within this subjective form it fluctuates seemingly haphazardly between expected plural (ἐκτίσωμεν, 13; ἐπερωτηθέντες ὠμολογήσαμεν, 15) and the singular (παραδώσω, 11; παρείληφα, 12; παρα[δῶ], 12-13). This may be less irrational than it seems: the choice of plural verbs might suggest that Dioscorammon, *ταρσικάριος*, was providing the technical skill while Flavius Iasion, *στρατιώτης*, provided the finance for their enterprise.

The lessor's subscription appears at the foot; this was presumably a copy made for the lessees.

Written along the fibres; the surface of the back is in poor condition, but there may have been a docket along the fibres, i.e. at 90° to the front.

A few sales of looms have been published, e.g. II 264, XIV 1705 and P. Oxy. Hels. 34, but this is the first papyrus to record the lease of a loom, unless this is the case in P. Dubl. 31, originally published by B. C. McGing, *ZPE* 82 (1990) 115-21 (Panopolis, AD 355). This is a lease of an ἐργαστήριον λινουφικὸν ἐν πύγμασι δυοῖ καὶ ξηαρτίας αὐτῶν; McGing assumes, no doubt rightly, that πύγμασι = πήγμασι (a similar spelling is found in Stud. Pal. XX 211.12), and suspects that here the word means simply 'looms'. J. Kramer has surveyed the meanings of πήγματα in the papyri, *Archiv* 43 (1997) 74-7, but does not refer to P. Dubl. 31. McGing cites bibliography on linen-weaving on p. 117. On the weaving trade in general see E. Wipszycka, *L'industrie textile dans l'Égypte romaine* (1965). For *ταρσικάριοι* and the ἰστός *ταρσικοῦφικός* see the notes below to lines 6, 8.

ἵπαται[αε Ἰουλίου Κωνσταντίου] πατρικίου ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ δεσπότου  
 ἡμῶν [Κωνσταντίνου Αὐγού]του καὶ Ῥουφίου Ἀλβίνου τῶν  
 λαμ[προτάτων].  
 ἐμ[ίσθωσεν Αὐρήλιος Γο]ῦνθος Ἐδτυχίου ἀπὸ τῆς λαμ[πράς]  
 καὶ λα[μ[προτάτης] Ὀξυρυνχιδῶν πόλεως] Φλαουῖ Ἰασιῶνι στρα-

5 τῶ [τη . . .] ρ[ 3-4] . [c. 3] . ος καὶ Διοσκοράμμων<ος>  
 ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτ[ῆς] πόλεως ταρσικαρίου ἐφ' ἐνιαυτῶν  
 ἕνα ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος [μηνὸς] Φαῶφι τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος λς κς ιβ"  
 γ" εἰστόν ἕνα ταρ[ε] [κοῦ]φικὸν τέλιον ἐξηρτικμένω  
 πάκη ξηαρτίω ἐπὶ τῶ ἄντι ἐνοικίω ἐξυφάνε συ ἄμιστι  
 10 κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον λίνου Μενδησίου λίτρας δύο σοῦ  
 τοῦ Γούνθου παρέχοντος τὰ λίνα. καὶ μετὰ τὸν χρόν<ον> παραδώσω  
 τὸν ἰστόν ὑγιή ὡς καὶ παρείληφα ἢ οὐ εἰάν μὴ παρα-  
 [δῶ] ἐκτίσωμεν τὴν ἀξίαν τιμὴν γνωμένης <ε>οι  
 [τῆς] πράξεως ὡς καθήκει. κυρία ἢ μίσθωσις {ι}  
 15 καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες ὠμολογήσαμεν.  
 ἵπατείας τῆς προκ[ειμένης], Φαῶφι ε".  
 (m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Γούνθος μεμίσθωκα  
 τὸν εἰστόν ὡς πρόκειται.

2 λαμ' 3 λαμ" 4 ἰσιωνι 6 l. ἐπ'; ἐνιαυτῶν 8 l. ἰστόν, τέλειον Final ω of  
 ἐξηρτικμένω rewritten; 1. ἐξηρτικμένον 9 l. ξηαρτία, ἐνοικίον ἐξυφάναι σοι ἄμισθι 12 ἰκτονθγη  
 13 l. ἐκτίσωμεν 14 l. καθήκει 16 προ<sup>ε</sup> 18 l. ἰστόν, πρόκειται

'In the consulship of Julius Constantius, patrician, brother of our master Constantinus Augustus, and Rufius Albinus, *viri clarissimi*.

'Aurelius Gunthus son of Eutychius, from the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, has leased to Flavius Iasion, soldier . . . Dioscorammon from the same city, weaver of Tarsian garments, for one year from the present month Phaophi of the current 30th/20th/12th/3rd (year), one loom for weaving Tarsian garments, complete, fitted with all equipment, on condition that instead of rent I am to weave for you without payment each month two pounds of Mendesian flax, you Gunthus providing the flax. At the end of the period I will return the loom in good condition, as I received it, or we shall pay the proper value of whatever I do not return, the right of execution remaining with you as is proper. The lease is binding, and in answer to the formal question we gave our agreement.

'In the aforesaid consulship, Phaophi 5.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Gunthus, have leased out the loom as aforesaid.'

3 This Aurelius Gunthus has not been recorded in *The Oxynhynchus Papyri* before, nor has the soldier Flavius Iasion (4), nor the weaver Dioscorammon (5) although that name has been attested once from Oxyrhynchus, in LVIII 3927 45 from the third century. For personal names in -ammon see F. Dunand, *Chr. d'Ég.* 38 (1963) 134-46.

5 Restoration here is difficult. Seemingly we need <sup>ε</sup>στρα-<sup>ς</sup>τῶ δι' Αὐρηλίου (possibly abbreviated) name ] ος <τοῦ> καὶ Διοσκοράμμων<ος>. This is a long way from the spaces and traces assured by the papyrus. Διοσκοράμμων<ος>, at least, is reasonably justified by genitive *ταρσικαρίου* in 6. He ought to have the status designation Aurelius, and a patronymic—possibly the initial space in 6 was intended for this.

Alternatively, should we see this as a late example of the δε καί formula?

6 For ταρκεῖροι see LI 3626 4 n.; T. Kruse, ZPE 88 (1991) 138.

8 For a ἱερός ταρκεῖοφικός cf. XIV 1705 6 (sale of the same, dated 298). This was a substantial piece of equipment, measuring 10 cubits by 6, which would not have been easily moved. For looms and their components see McGing, ZPE 82 (1990) 120–1 with references, and P. Oxy. Hells. 34.

9 10 The same use of the word ἐνοίκιον with reference to the lease of weaving equipment is found in P. Dubl. 31, and it is paid off in the same way by the lessee's provision of weaving services. See McGing, ZPE 82 (1990) 120, 11 n. for the equation of ἐνοίκιον and φόρος at this period.

10 'Mendesian flax' appears to be unrecorded elsewhere as a variety.

16 The placing of Φαώφι ε', while it is in the main hand, suggests that the text may have been drawn up in advance with only ὑπατείας τῆς προκειμένης written in this line (the final stroke of κ of προ<sup>ε</sup> is greatly extended); then month and day were added at the appropriate moment. Cf. 4528.

U. SCHLAG  
R. A. COLES

### 4535. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF A DEBT

3 1B 91/Λ(1)α

12 × 34 cm

14 January (?) 600

The papyrus contains an acknowledgement by an ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός to his landlord of a debt of 6 solidi less 24 carats which he has incurred and which he undertakes to pay back whenever his landlord chooses. The papyrus is complete at top, bottom and both sides, but has suffered considerable damage in the middle where a large part of lines 22–26 has been lost.

For the most part the formulas used are those which were standard at this period in the Oxyrhynchite nome and which are well attested in several documents from the Apion estates. It is noteworthy that the landlord in 4535, Flavius Apollon, is a *comes sacri consistorii*. He is also διοικητής of Strategius, on whom see the note to lines 12–13.

† ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπ(ότου)

Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος

ἡμῶν. βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ

εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπ(ότου) μεγίστου εὐεργέτ[ο]υ

5 Φλαουίου Μανρικί[ου] Νέου Τιβερίου τοῦ

αἰωνίου Ἀγνούστου καὶ Αὐτοκρά(τορος) ἔτους

ἡ ὑπατίας τοῦ αὐτ[ο]ῦ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν

δεσπ(ότου) ἔτους ιϛ' Τ[ὐβ]ι ἡ ἡδ(ικτίονος)

τρίτης.

10 Φλαουίω Ἀπολλῶ τῷ περιβλέ(πτω)

κόμῃ τοῦ θεοῦ κονιστωρίου

καὶ διοικ(ητῆ) τοῦ πανευφήμου

στρατηγίου ὑπάτου υἱῷ τοῦ τῆς

λαμπράς μηνῆς Φοιβάμμωνος

15

γεουχοῦντι ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ

Ἰουβρυγχι(τῶν) πόλει. Αὐρήλιος Ἡλίας

υἱὸς ἅπα Νακίου μητρὸς Ἰεῖδος

ὀρμώμενος ἀ[πὸ] ἐπο[ικίου] Ἰκεῶνος

Β. . καρ . . . τοῦ Ἰουβρυγχι(του) νομοῦ

20

ἐναπόγραφος γε[ωργ]ός τῆς ὑμετέρας

λαμπρά(τητος) ὁμ[ο]λογ[ῶ] ὁφ[εί]λειν αὐτῇ

καὶ χρε[ω]ς[τεῖν] κα[θ]άρως καὶ

ἀπο[κ]ρότως ὑπὲρ δ[ι]ημοσίων

χρ[υ]σικῶν(?) c. 5 ] . . τε

25

. . . [ c. 10 ]ης καὶ πρώτης

προ[παρ]ε[λ]θουσῶν ἐπιμεέ(σεων)

χρυσοῦ νομισμ[ά]τια εἴξ[α] παρὰ

κεράτια εἴ[κ]οις τ[έ]σσαρα

ἰδιωτικῶ ζυγῶ γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νομισμάτια ε π(αρά) κερ(άτια) κδ̄

30

ἰδ(ιωτικῶ) ζυγ(ῶ) καὶ τὰυτ[α] ὁμολογῶ παρασχεῖν

τῇ ὑμετέρῃ ἀ[μ]π[ρο]σ(τητι) ὅπ(ο)ταν βουληθ(είη)

ἄνυπερθέτ[ω]ς κωδ(ύν)ω τῶν ἐμοῖ

ὑπαρχόντω[ν] ὑποκειμένων

εἰς τοῦτο. κύρι(ον) τὸ γραμμ(άτιον) ἀπλ(όν) γραφ(έν) καὶ

35

ἐπερωτηθ(εί)ς ὁμολ(όγησα). (m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Ἡλίας υἱὸς

ἅπα Νακίου [δ] προγεγραμμένως

πεποίημαι τοῦτο τὸ γραμμ(άτιον) τῶν

εἴξ νομισμ(άτιων) παρὰ κερ(άτια) εἴκοι τέσσαρα

καθ[ὲ]ς πρόκ(ε)ιται. Παπνούθιος ἔγρ(αψα)

40

ὑ(πὲρ) αὐτοῦ ἄγρ(αμμάτου) ὄντος.

✠ δι' ἐπι[σ]τη[σ]τῆ[σ] ἡ' . . .

Back

(m. 1?) † γρ(αμμάτιον) Ἡλία υἱῷ [ἅπα Νακί]ο[υ] ἀπὸ ἐποικίου] Ἰκεῶνος Β. . καρ( )

χρ(υσοῦ) νομισμάτια ε π(αρά) κ[ερ](άτια) [κδ] ἰδ(ιωτικῶ) ζ(υγῶ)].

1 κυρῖ, δεσπς 2 χριστῶ, θεῶ 4 ευσεβς, δεσπς, ευεργετ[ῶ] 5 φλαουῖ 6 αἰωνῖαγνουστῶ,  
αντοκρ,<sup>α</sup> 7 ευεβς 8 δεσπς, υδρ,<sup>α</sup> 10 φλαουῖω, περιβλ,<sup>ε</sup> 11 θεῖο 12 διοικ,  
13 ὑπατουῖω 16 οξυρυγχις 17 νακῖο, ἰεῖδος 18 ]ικῖο 19 τῶξ[υ]ρ[υ]γχις 21 λαμπρ,<sup>ο</sup>  
26 ἐπιμεε<sup>ς</sup>, 1. ἐπιμεη 29 γι/χρ,<sup>ο</sup>, πκερ,<sup>ο</sup> 30 ιδ,ξυγς 31 ἀ[μ]π[ρο]σ,<sup>ο</sup> βουληθς  
34 κυρ,τογραμμῖαπλ,γραφη, 35 ἐπερωτηθς ὁμολ,αυρς, ὕιος 37 γραμμς 38 νομισμς, κερ,  
39 προκς,παπνούθιοςεγρ,<sup>ο</sup> 40 υ', αγρς 42 γρ, β. . καρ,χρ,<sup>ο</sup>, πκ[ερ],

'In the name of the Lord and Master Jesus Christ our God and Saviour. 18th year of the reign of our most divine and pious master and greatest benefactor Flavius Mauricius the New Tiberius the eternal Augustus and Imperator, in the year of the 17th consulship of our said most pious master, Tybi (?) 18, in the third indiction.

'To Flavius Apollon, *spectabilis comes sacri consistorii* and administrator of the all-honoured consul Strategius, son of Phoebammon of illustrious memory, a landholder here in the illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites.

'I, Aurelius Elias son of Apa Nacius, whose mother is Isis, native of the hamlet of Siceon B... in the Oxyrhynchite nome, *colonus adscripticius* of your magnificence, acknowledge that I am in debt and owe to your magnificence clearly and without fail, in respect of (?) my gold taxes (?) due for the fifteenth(?) and for the first past indictions, six gold solidi less twenty-four carats on the private standard=6 gold solidi less 24 carats on the private standard, and this I agree to produce to your magnificence when your magnificence chooses without delay, at the risk of my property which is mortgaged to this end. The contract written in a single copy is binding and in answer to the formal question I gave my assent.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Elias son of Apa Nacius the aforesaid, have made this contract in respect of the six solidi less twenty-four carats as aforesaid. I, Papputhius, wrote on his behalf as he is illiterate.

'Through me, Papputhius(?), it has been registered.'

Back. (1st hand?) 'Contract of Elias son of Apa Nacius of the hamlet of Siceon B... for 6 gold solidi less 24 carats on the private standard.'

1-9 On the *innotatio* formulas see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chr. d'Ég.* 56 (1981) 112-33, esp. 112-18. For the reckoning of dates at this period, see Bagnall and Worp, *Regnal Formulas*, 589, and *BASP* 18 (1981) 33-8=C*NBD* 85. Our text shows no divergences from the expected pattern.

8  $T[\theta\beta]i \tau\eta$ ;  $II[\alpha\delta\nu]i \tau\eta$  (12 June 600) is not impossible but is less probable;  $II[\alpha\delta] \mu\eta \tau\eta$  can be ruled out.  
10 *Φλαυίνω Απολλών*: also attested in LVIII 3936 and P. Berol. inv. 10526, edited by G. Poethke in *JJP* 23 (1993) 133-7 (both 598), documents addressed to Strategius through Apollon *τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπέστατου κόμητος καὶ διοικητοῦ αὐτοῦ*, with no mention of the *sacrum consistorium*. In XVI 1991, to be dated 601 (see BL VIII), an acknowledgement to Strategius is sent through Flavius Dorotheus  $\tau[\theta\delta] \pi[\epsilon\rho]i \beta\lambda\epsilon\pi\tau\omega\upsilon \kappa\acute{o}\mu\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$  καὶ διοικητ[ο]ῦ αὐτοῦ.

11 *κόμετι τοῦ θελοῦ κοινοεπιστορίου*: on the consistory see the references given in CPR V 14.3-5 n., I 3585 2 n., and P. Heid. IV 331.3-4 n.

12-13 *τοῦ πανεφήμου στρατηγίου ὑπάτου*: on this Strategius see B. Palme, *Chiron* 27 (1997) 95-125, with a comprehensive listing of all papyri which relate to him. There is no other Oxyrhynchite document in which he is described in exactly this form, without the epithet *ὑπερφύετατος*. On his first certain appearance in 591 (LVIII 3935) he is described only as *ὑπερφύετατος* (cf. also XVI 1829, with Palme, *ZRG* 115 (1998) 281-322, esp. 308 ff.). By 598 he is *ὑπατος* as well as *πανεφήμος καὶ ὑπερφύετατος* (LVIII 3936; P. Berol. inv. 10526), and the same titles appear in XVI 1991 of 601, the only other Oxyrhynchite document to mention him. He does appear in a few Arsinoite documents as *πανεφήμος* and *ὑπατος*, without *ὑπερφύετατος*, for which see Palme, *Chiron* 27, 120-1.

15 *γεουχόντου*: in 1991, 3936 and P. Berol. inv. 10526 Strategius is described as a landholder in the Oxyrhynchite, which might suggest that we should correct here to *γεουχόντος*. This is unnecessary. Cf. I 140 4-5, where a contract is made with a *comes sacri consistorii γεουχόντι*  $\xi[\nu] \tau\alpha\theta\alpha \tau\eta \lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{\rho} \text{ 'Οξυρυγχίτων πόλεω}$ .

18-19  $\alpha[\pi\acute{o} \epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\kappa\iota\omicron\nu] \text{ Cικεῶνος B. } \kappa\alpha\rho. \dots$ : no such *επὶοίκιον* is attested and the second word is particularly difficult. Here initial beta is plain, but is very hard to read in line 42; there the word clearly ends with *ap* and an abbreviation mark, but it is difficult to read rho after *ka* in 19. The combination of the two readings, if they are correct, suggests the word may come from *braccarius*, and  $\beta\lambda\kappa\alpha\rho-$  [*sic*] may be just possible

in 19. This could be understood as Elias' trade, but it would then be out of place between the reference to his *επὶοίκιον* and *τοῦ 'Οξυρυγχίτων νομοῦ*. In X 1341 *Βρακαρίων* occurs, and is perhaps to be understood as a place-name. The first word may be an alternative spelling for *Cικεῶνος* ('a fig grove'), or for *Cικῶνος*. For the occurrence of place-names ending in *-(ε)ών* in post-classical Greek cf. L.R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the post-Ptolemaic Papyri*, 120-1, who includes in his list *εικωνών* = *-εων*.

20 *ἐναπόγραφος γε[ωργ]ός*: see I. F. Fikhhman, *AnaPaP* 3 (1991) 7-17, with a full citation of earlier bibliography.

21-6 There are no exact parallels for this badly damaged section of the papyrus. The general sense must surely be that the debt is owed for payments due for two (or more?) preceding indictions. As one of these is the first and it seems impossible to fit in *δεντέρας*, the obvious solution is to supply a reference to the fifteenth. At the end of line 24 the traces are not really consistent with  $\pi\eta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ , and we cannot read *καὶ δεκάτης* in the next line: the traces at the start, although meagre, do not allow *καὶ* and the restoration  $[\delta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma]$  is much too short for the lacuna. Slightly more promising is  $\tau\epsilon$   $|\pi\epsilon\iota|[\tau\epsilon\kappa\alpha\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma]$ . But we should then expect  $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$  or  $\tau\eta\varsigma$  before  $\tau\epsilon$ , neither of which seems possible.

22-3  $\kappa\alpha|\theta\alpha\rho\acute{\omega}\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \alpha\pi\theta[\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma]$ : the expression does not seem to have occurred previously in papyri from the Oxyrhynchite nome, but there are several attestations of it in papyri from other nomes at this period: see P. *Dubl.* 25.4 n.

23-4 *ὑπὲρ δ[ημοσίων χρ[υσι]κών(?)*: the expression *ὑπὲρ χρυσικῶν δημοσίων* is common, e.g. XVI 1907 7, 1909 6-7, but I know of no example with the words in this order. For reference to a specific indiction one may compare LV 3797 3-4,  $\acute{\upsilon}(\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho) \mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\nu(\epsilon) \chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\iota\kappa\omega\nu \delta\eta\mu\omicron\sigma\iota\omega\nu$  'Οξυρύγχων (καὶ) Κυνών[ ] τρίτης καταβολῆς) δωδεκάτης ἡδ(ικτιόνος), and XLI 2995,  $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$  [*sic*] ὀφειλόμενον ἐξ ἔθους ... χρυσικῶν δημοσίων τῆ Κιρκῆ ὑ(πὲρ) δημοσίων δεκάτης ἡδ(ικτιόνος). Other possible supplements might be *δημοσίων χρ[ε]ῶν* or *δημοσίων χρ[ε]ῖσίων*. For  $\chi\rho\iota[\epsilon\iota\omega\nu]$  cf. P. Warren 10.11-12 (591/2), also from the Oxyrhynchite, where a loan is acknowledged which has been advanced *εἰς ἰδίαν ἡμῶν καὶ ἀναγκάσας καὶ δημοσίας χρ[ε]ῖσας*. However, Hunt comments that *δημοσίας* is 'an unusual addition', and the expression *δημοσίας χρεῖαι* in the papyri usually refers to liturgical obligations.

26 *προ[παρ]ε[λ]θουσῶν*: the rubbed traces at the start of the line are not at all clear. We can rule out *ἔρι* or *ἀριτίως* before  $[\pi\alpha\rho\epsilon]λ\thetaουσῶν$ , but *προ* is far from certain.

27-9 For a recent discussion of solidi less so many carats see Klaus Maresch, *Nomisma und Nomismata* (Pap. Colon. xxi, 1994), 8-13; all known examples of the expression from the period 542-619 are listed by him on pp. 163-71. He also discusses on pp. 32-34 the different standards which were in use in the Oxyrhynchite in the second half of the sixth century.

29  $\kappa\bar{\epsilon}$ : the second figure is strangely made, rather like a modern Q. Although the reading *τέσσαρα* is not entirely certain in either lines 28 or 38, none of the alternatives (23, 27, 29) is at all likely. In any case 24 is the figure we should expect for 6 solidi on the so-called private standard in the Oxyrhynchite nome at this date; see Maresch, op. cit. 10.

31 *ὅσπῳταν βουληθ(είη)*: on loans in the Byzantine period for limited and unlimited periods see CPR VII, pp. 161-2.

39  $\kappa\alpha\theta[\acute{\omega}\varsigma] \text{ πρ}\acute{o}\kappa\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$ : *ὡς πρόκειται* would be more usual, but this does not account for all the ink or the spacing.

A man named Papputhius writes for illiterates in a number of Oxyrhynchite texts of this period: P. Flor. I 65 (570/1?), PSI VII 786 (581? see *BASP* 18 | 1981 | 34), XVI 1976 (582), I 137 (584), XVI 1988 (587), SB VI 9561 (590), LVIII 3942 (606), PSI I 61 (609) and P. Lond. V 1764 (13th indiction, therefore 579/80, 594/5 or 609/10?); P. L. Bat. XIII 20 (592?) is much less certain. Photographs of all the P. Oxy. texts are in the Ashmolean Library, PSI 786 is reproduced as Plate LII in *Papyri graeci e latini a Firenze* (=Pap. Flor. XII, Suppl.; 1983) and P. L. Bat. XIII 20 was accompanied by a plate in the edition. In all cases which can be checked, apart from P. L. Bat. XIII 20, it is probable that the illiteracy statement is in the same hand as in our text.

41 Johannes M. Diethart and Klaas A. Worp, *Notarsunterschriften im byzantinischen Ägypten*, pp. 83-4, no. 16.2, quote 13 examples of subscriptions from Oxyrhynchus written by a Papputhius; they include all the texts quoted in the previous note except 3942 (where the *di' emu* clause was not written by Papputhius, see the note to line 36), and add I 136 (583), 138 (610/11), XVI 1898 (587), which do not have illiteracy statements by Papputhius, and XVI 1993 (587), which is only published in part. The writer of most of these is probably the same as the man in our text (although this is far from clear in some cases, especially 136, 138 and P. L. Bat. XIII 20). The closest parallel for the way *di' emu Papputhiu* is written in 4535 is 16.2.5=I 137 27. In I 137

Diethart and Worp agree with Grenfell and Hunt in reading *sun(bolaaographu)* after this. In our text, however, the reading seems to be much more like an abbreviated form of *etelioth*, possibly *ε(τελιω)θ̄*, for which cf. 16.2.13 = P. Lond. 1764.12. On the (intentional?) near illegibility of these notarial statements see J. G. Keenan, *ZPE* 34 (1979) 137, note to line 30.

42 ἀπό ἐποικίου may well have been abbreviated.

J. DAVID THOMAS

4536. PROMISE OF GOOD BEHAVIOUR

a/3 A

12 × 35 cm

27 October 612 (?)

The papyrus is complete but much rubbed in places with some loss of ink. This does not seriously affect the reading, especially as the text is an almost exact parallel of **1 139** and **XVI 1981**. All three papyri are undertakings sent to Flavius Apion III, by inhabitants of villages under his control, to be of good behaviour. **1981** was written on Phaophi 28, **139** on Phaophi 29, and **4536** on Phaophi 30, all in the 1st indiction; on the Julian date see the note to lines 1–6. In **139** the undertaking comes from a *πρωτοφύλαξ* and in the present text from two *πρωτοφύλακες*. The two senders of **1981** do not indicate an official position, but the *subscriptio* is made by *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ὀνομάτων* as in **4536**.

Minor differences between the present text and **139** and/or **1981** are indicated in the notes. In all three texts the persons giving the undertaking are illiterate and a man named John writes for them. Similarly in all three texts the notary who wrote the statement in 'Latin' at the foot is called John. The natural assumption is to suppose that this is the same person, but it is very hard to accept that the man who wrote the illiterate sentence, in a rounded Greek script, can have also written the neat, right-sloping notarial statement; see further the notes ad locc.

† ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου καὶ δεσπ(ότου) Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ  
τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν. βασιλείας τοῦ  
θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβ(εστάτου) ἡμῶν δεσπ(ότου) μεγίστου  
εὐεργ(έτου) Φλ(αουίου) Ἡρακλείου τοῦ αἰωνίου Ἀγνούστου  
καὶ Αὐτοκρ(άτορος) ἔτους δευτέρου Φαῶφι λ  
ἰνδ(ικτίονος) α.

5 Φλ(αουίω) Ἀπίωνι τῷ πανευφήμω καὶ ὑπερφ(εστάτῳ)  
ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ πατρικ(ίω) γεουχόντι  
καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρ(ᾷ) Ὁξυρυγχ(ιτῶν) πόλει  
10 διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ ἐπερωτῶντος  
καὶ προσπορίζοντος τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπ(ότῃ)  
τῷ αὐτῷ πανευφ(ήμῳ) ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν  
καὶ ἐνοχὴν Αὐρήλιοι Ἀπολ[λ]ῶς  
υἱὸς Ἀνοῦπ καὶ Ἐρκῶτ υἱὸς Ἀπολλῶ

15 ἀπὸ κόμης Πλεῖν τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχ(ίτου)  
νομοῦ παραρχουμένης παρὰ τῆς  
ὑμετέρας ὑπερφ(υείας). ὁμολογοῦμεν  
τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ὑπερφ(υείᾳ) ὡς ε[?] π[ο]τε  
καιρῷ ἢ χρόνῳ φανῶμεν  
20 κλέψαντες μνηχαν[ι] καὶ  
σκεύη ἢ βοῖδια ἢ ο[ι]α[νδ]ή[πο]τε  
κλοπὴν ποιήσα. . . . [ῆ] ὑπ[ο]δέξασθα  
λιτὰς ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμ[ᾶ]ς π[αρ]αρχεῖν  
τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ὑπερφ(υείᾳ) διὰ τῶν αὐτῆ  
25 προσκόντων ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου  
ἐγχειρήματος χρυσοῦ νομισμ(άτια)  
εἴκοσι τέσσαρα ἔργω καὶ δυνάμει  
ἀπαιτούμενα κινδύνῳ  
ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν ὑποστάσεω'ς.  
30 κυρία ἢ ὁμολογί[α] ἀπλ(ῆ)  
γραφ(εῖσα) καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες ὡμ[ο]λογήσα(μεν).  
(m. 2) † τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ὀνομάτων(ων)  
στοιχεῖ ἡμῖν αὐτῇ ἢ ὁμολ(ογία)  
ὡς πρόκειται. Ἰωάννης  
35 ἔγραψα (ὑπὲρ) αὐτῶν ἀγραμμ(άτων)  
ἄντων.†  
(m. 3?) ✠ di em(u) Ioannu eteliothhS.

Back (m. 1)

† ὁμολογία Ἀπολλῶ {ς} υἱοῦ Ἀνοῦπ καὶ Ἐρκῶτ υἱοῦ Ἀπολλῶ πρωτοφύλακ(ων)  
ὁμωμ(ένων) ἀπὸ κόμη(ς) Πλεῖν τοῦ Ὁξυρυγχ(ίτου) νομ(οῦ).†

1 δεσπς ιησουχριστοῦ 2 τῷ 3 εὐσεβς, δεσπς μεγαίστου 4 ευεργ/φλς, αγνουστοῦ 5 αυτοκρ/  
6 ἰνδ, 7 φλ', υπερφ, 8 απο, πατρικ, 9 λαμπρ/οξυρυγχς 10 οικετοῦ 11 ιδιωδεσπ,  
12 τῶανταπανευφ, 14 υιος, bis 15 οξυρυγχς 16 παραρχουμένης, η corrected 17 υπερφ/  
18 υπερφ, 21 βοιδια 23 ἰ. ληστὰς 24 ὑμετεραυπερφ, 25 εκαστοῦ 26 εγχειρηματος,  
γ corrected from ν or vice versa; νομισμς 27 ἰ. τέσσαρα 29 ἰστ ἡμῶν, ν corrected; υποστασεῶ  
30 απλ, 31 γραφ, επερ, 32 ονοματ, 33 αυτη, a corrected; ομολ, 34 ἰωαννης  
35 ἰ; αγραμμς 38 ἰου, bis; πρωτοφυλακς 39 ορμωμ, κωμς, τοξυρυγχ, νομ

'In the name of the Lord and Master Jesus Christ our God and Saviour. In the second year of the reign of our most godly and pious master the greatest benefactor

Flavius Heraclius the eternal Augustus and Emperor, Phaophi 30, of the 1st indiction.

To Flavius Apion the renowned and most extraordinary, of consular rank and patrician, landowner here also in the glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, slave, putting the formal question and supplying for his own master, the same renowned man, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), Aurelii Apollon son of Anoup and Erkot son of Apollon of the village of Plecin in the Oxyrhynchite nome, which village belongs to your excellency's pagarchy. We acknowledge to your excellency that if ever at any season or time we are found to have stolen the water-wheel implements or cattle or to have committed any theft whatsoever or to have harboured robbers, we are to deliver to your excellency through your excellency's representatives for each infraction twenty-four gold solidi, actual payment of which is to be demanded, at our own risk and that of our property. The acknowledgement written in a single copy is enforceable and in answer to the formal question we gave our assent.'

(2nd Hand) 'We, the collective body of names, are satisfied with this acknowledgement as aforesaid. I, John, have written on their behalf as they are illiterate.'

(3rd Hand?) 'Executed through me, John.'

(Back; 1st Hand) 'Acknowledgement of Apollon son of Anoup and of Erkot son of Apollon, head-watchmen, originating from the village of Plecin in the Oxyrhynchite nome.'

1-6 The *invocatio* and the regnal formula are of the pattern normal in the Oxyrhynchite nome at this date. For the *invocatio* see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chr. d'Ég.* 56 (1981) 112-33, esp. 121, and for the regnal formula Bagnall and Worp, *Regnal Formulas in Byzantine Egypt*, 68-73, esp. 68-9, updated by Worp in *JJP* 23 (1993) 217-32, esp. 218. In 139 the *invocatio* and most of the regnal formula is lost.

The regnal year-date is the equivalent of 28 October 611, whereas the indiction-date is the equivalent of 27 October 612. 1981 was read by Grenfell and Hunt as dated by regnal year 2 and indiction 1, which would make it a parallel to our text (in 139 the year-number is lost). Subsequently it was suggested that the figure for the regnal year was gamma and not beta (see LVIII, p. xvii). The photograph, however, shows no more than an upright remaining of the damaged figure, which could fit either beta or gamma. Since the present text certainly belongs to a second year, we must give the preference to beta in 1981. In *BASP* 17 (1980) 24 (= *CNBD* 62), Bagnall and Worp discuss 4 texts of the reign of Heraclius, 1981, BGU XII 2208-2209 and SB VI 9461, with a similar discrepancy to that in our papyrus. They argue that in each case it is the indiction-date which is right, and that the texts are 'examples of failure to advance the regnal count' in documents dating from near the beginning of the regnal year (Heraclius' *dies imperii* was 5 October). The present text would appear to be another example of this and so to date from 27 October 612. See also LVIII 3957, with Rea's comments in the introduction.

7-9 On the Apion family see J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 61-75, and in particular for Apion III, 68-71. Subsequent bibliography is recorded in B. Palme, *Chiron* 27 (1997) 97 n. 6. Cf. 4535 12-13 n., and for the family *stemma* see Palme, *ZRG* 115 (1998) 322.

8 The papyrus has an oblique mark like a grave accent over the pi of *ἀπό*, and a similar mark over the omega of *τῷ* in line 12 (cf. the critical notes). Presumably these are just accidents.

10 On Menas see LVIII 3935 7 n.

13-14 The Apollon son of Anoup who gives a parallel undertaking to be of good behaviour in 1981 is from a different village.

14 *Ἐρκεῖ*: the name is not attested elsewhere, but the reading, when taken in conjunction with line 38, is reasonably secure. Accent and breathing are arbitrary.

15 For the village Plecin see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 152; add now LV 3805 51.

16-17 *παγαρχομένης παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας ὑπερβυλας*: so 139 15-16. In 1981 16-17 Grenfell and Hunt read *παγαρχομένης παρὰ τοῦ . . . οἴκου*, commenting that *ὑμετέρου* could not be read; possibly the text ran *παρὰ τοῦ ἑμῶν ἐνδοξοῦ οἴκου*, see BL VII 143, as in XXIV 2420 13.

18 *ὡς εἶ[ ] ποτε*: also possible is *ὡς ἴ ποτε*.

19 *φανόμεν*: 1981 omits the word (a scribal slip), while 139 19 reads *φανομεν*. In 139 the editors corrected this to *φανόμεθα*, but in the republication as Sel. Pap. I 25 it is corrected to *φανόμεν* (cf. 1981 19). 4536 may also have read *φανομεν*. For *ei* with the subjunctive in late papyri see Basil G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek non-literary Papyri*, § 601.

20 1981 20 inserts *ἡ* before *μηχανικά*.

22 *ποισα . . . [ἡ] ὑπερβυλας*: the surface of the papyrus is badly damaged at this point and the reading uncertain. In 1981 21 *π[ο]λέμ[ι]α* is restored at the end of a line (with *ἡ ὑπερβυλας* at the start of the next line); 139 22 has *ποισαντες ἡ ὑπερβυλας*. It does not look possible to read *ποισαντες* in the present text; more probable is *ποισασθαι*: [ἡ] or *ποισασθ[αι]* ἡ.

23 *λετάς*: the same spelling is found in 139 23 and 1981 22.

*ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμ[ί]ν[ι] π[α]ρ[α]σχέειν*: similarly 139 23. 1981 22-3 has [δ]μολογο[θ]μ[ε]ν[ι] *παρα[χ]εῖν*.

24-5 *διὰ τῶν αὐτῆ προσκλήτων*: a regular phrase in Oxyrhynchite documents of this period, nearly always occurring immediately after the word *ὑπερβυλας*. Note that in 139 and 1981 it occurs before *ὡς εἶ ποτε* and not at this point.

26 *χρυσῶν*: 139 25 reads *χρυσῶν*; 1981 25 has *χρυσ[ῶν]*.

26-7 In 139 and 1981 the penalty is also 24 solidi.

27-8 *ἐργῶν καὶ δυνάμει ἀπαιτούμενα*: so 139 26-7, but omitted in 1981. The only other examples of the phrase in Oxyrhynchite documents are I 135 29 and XLIV 3204 24. On its significance cf. P. Rain. Cent. 84.3-4 n.

31 *ἀμ[φ]ολογήσα[μεν]*: there is no mark of abbreviation and it seems clear that the scribe wrote the singular in error.

32-6 4536 brings to at least ten the number of texts from Oxyrhynchus in this period in which a man named John writes for illiterates: PSI I 77 (551), VII 1038 (568), P. Laur. III 75 (574) [for the date and provenance see *BASP* 18 (1981) 44-6], I 192 = *BASP* 31 (1994) 56-8 (599/600 or 614/15), PSI I 52 (602 or 617), I 139 (612), XVI 1981 (612), PSI I 62 (613) [see BL I], and 72 (undated); probably also PSI VI 709 (566). In most cases it is possible to check photographs: the editions of P. Laur. 75 and I 192 are accompanied by plates, and plates of PSI 62 and 709 are included as nos. LVI and L in *Papiri greci e latini a Firenze* (= Pap. Flor. XII, Suppl.; 1983); for 139, 1038 and 1981 I have consulted photographs in the Ashmolean. In addition to 139, 1981 and 4536 I believe that the same John occurs in P. Laur. 75 (where the first hand is also identical with that in 4536), 192 and perhaps PSI 62. On the hands of the notarial statements see below.

32-3 *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ὀνομάτων εἰσῆκε ἡμῶν*: in 139 30 the name of the man making the agreement replaces *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ὀνομάτων*. In 1981 28-9 which, like 4536, is an agreement made by two named persons, the phrase *τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ὀνομάτων* is again used. It would appear that the persons named are considered to be representative of the whole community or that the community as a whole accepts liability for the agreement (cf. XVI 1979 23, where the same phrase occurs but there is only one person giving the undertaking). It is noteworthy that in 1981 the back reads *ὁμολογία τῶν ἀπὸ κάμ[η]ρ[ῆ] Ὀρφειῶν*. Apart from the texts mentioned, the phrase is also found in XVI 1896 24, PSI I 52.34-5 (see BL VII), P. Lond. V 1764.8-9 and P. L. Bat. XIII 20.22-3 (all from the Oxyrhynchite).

33 *αὐτῆ ἡ ὁμολογία*: so 139 31; omitted in 1981.

34-6 The illiteracy statement takes the same form in 139 31-2 and 1981 30-1.

37 On these notarial statements see 4535 41 n. and the work by Diethart and Worp referred to there. My reading agrees with that of Grenfell and Hunt for 139 and 1981. Diethart and Worp interpret the writing slightly differently. They list examples of notaries named John from the Oxyrhynchite nome on pp. 81-2. Our man is their 9.9, whom they recognise in 139 33, 1981 32, PSI I 52.38 and 62.27; I should be inclined to regard P. Laur. 75 also as the work of the same man (in I 192, which is not in Diethart and Worp, the notarial statement is lost).

38 *πρωτοφυλάξι(ων)*: on the office see G. Rouillard, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte byzantine*,<sup>2</sup> 162-7. A list of occurrences is given in P. L. Bat. XXV 75, introd.

39 ἄρρωμ(ένων): the word is not used before ἀπό κόμης on the back of either 139 or 1981. For the different wording on the back of 1981 see above, lines 32–3 n.

J. DAVID THOMAS

#### 4537. MEASUREMENTS OF A CISTERN

53 1B.26(F)/C(3)a

10 × 31.5 cm

Sixth/seventh century  
Plate XVIII

This complete and well preserved document gives us information about the size and shape of a λάκκος, an underground cistern used to store water for the irrigation of the fields. From the λάκκος the water was lifted up by a *sāqiya* and then distributed via channels to the fields. For the construction of cisterns see L. Ménassa and P. Laferrière, *La Sāqiya* (Cairo 1975), 1–23; LV 3804 221 n. Further bibliography for irrigation devices is in LIV 3771 7 n. Digging was done in the dry period and needed to be completed by June. The interiors were lined with bricks or stones; for bricks cf. XVIII 2197, while PSI I 88 gives the cost as 1 solidus for 1600 bricks. On the Apion estate we find cisterns of more solid construction: large stones were brought for them, see I 134, XVI 1911; in 134 1 solidus was paid for 200 large stones, and in 1911 1 solidus less 5 carats for 150 stones.

In 4537, although the first line reads *μετρήσεις τοῦ ἀνωρυχθέντος νέου λάκκου*, we are actually given the dimensions of two projects, different in size but similar in shape, narrow at the bottom and wider at the top, which were completed on Pachon 29 = 24 May. *ἀνωρυχθέντος* may indicate that the papyrus only refers to the excavation stage, cf. LV 3804 213; contrast 4538 which must refer to built work. The first excavation's dimensions are: upper width 24 cubits, lower width 22 cubits, depth 6 cubits giving a volume of 88<sup>1</sup>/<sub>6</sub> naubia. The *μήκος* (cf. 12) was omitted here but can be calculated as 17<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> cubits. The size, more than three times that of the second excavation, allows us to conclude that this was the main underground reservoir. The second excavation, called *ἀναβατηρία* in 11, was 3 cubits in depth, half that of the first, somewhat longer at 27 cubits, and with strongly sloping walls (upper width 10 cubits, lower 6 cubits).

The meaning of *ἀναβατηρία* is uncertain. Here, obviously, it describes a comparatively (in comparison with the first excavation) shallow and narrow trough, but the precise function of this trough remains unclear. It is not certain that it would have been vaulted over when finished, as would the main reservoir, cf. 4538. See 11 n.

The back is blank.

† *μετρήσεις τοῦ ἀνωρυχθέντος νέου λάκκου*  
*ἐν τῇ μηχ(ανῇ) καλουμένῃ τοῦ Λάκκου*  
*ὑπὸ Παῦλον πρε(σβύτερον) (καὶ) Ἡράκλειον*  
*γεωρ(γούς) τοῦ κτή(ατος) Λέοντος*

5 ἐπὶ μη(νός) Παχίων κθ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) γ  
ὕδροπαροχ(ία) δ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) οὔ(ταος).  
  
ἄνω πλάτος πήχ(εις) κδ  
κάτω πλάτος πήχ(εις) κβ  
βάθος πήχ(εις) ς  
  
10 εἰς ναύει(α) πησ'  
  
(καὶ) τῆς ἀναβατηρ(ίας) οὔτ(αος).  
μήκ(ος) πήχ(εις) κζ  
ἄνω πλάτος πήχ(εις) ι  
κάτω πλάτος πήχ(εις) ς  
  
15 βάθος πήχ(εις) γ  
εἰς ναύει(α) κδ  
γ(νεταί) δ(μοῦ) ναύει(α) ριβς' εἰς  
νο(μιμᾶτια) γγ'.

1 μετρήσεις ἀνωρυχθέντος; 1. ἀνωρυχθέντος; λακκ' 2 μήκος καλουμένῃ λακκ' 3 πρ<sup>ε</sup>/ς  
4 γεωρρ/, κτημς 5 μήκ, ἰνδ/ 6 ὕδροπαροχ<sup>ς</sup>, ἰνδ/ου<sup>ς</sup> 7 πηχ<sup>ς</sup> So in 8, 9, 13, 15  
10 ναυει/ So in 16, 17 1. ναύβια 11 ς, ἀναβατηρ/ουτ<sup>ς</sup> 12 μηκ', πηχ<sup>ς</sup> 14 πηχ<sup>ς</sup>  
17 γι/θ (but omicron crossed by two diagonals) 18 β

'Measurements of the new cistern excavated in the irrigated area called 'of the Cistern' in the charge of Paul, priest, and Heraclius, farmers of the holding of Leon, on the 29th of the month of Pachon of the 3rd indiction for the water supply of the 4th indiction, as follows:

'Upper width	24 cubits
'Lower width	22 cubits
'Depth	6 cubits
	'(Which converts) to naubia 88 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>6</sub>
'And of the <i>anabateria</i> , as follows:	
'Length	27 cubits
'Upper width	10 cubits
'Lower width	6 cubits
'Depth	3 cubits
	'(Which converts) to naubia 24
'Total altogether, naubia	112 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>6</sub>
	'(Which converts) to solidi 3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>3</sub> .'

1–2 The λάκκος is called 'new' because the irrigation setup here already contained one, after which it was named. For named *μηχαναί* cf. e.g. I 137, XIX 2244 and PSI I 60.



3 A Παῦλος *πρεσβύτερος* occurs in XVI 1912 35, an estate account, but there is nothing to suggest that this is the same person. For *ὑπό* in this context cf. e.g. LV 3804 213.

4 The holding of Leon is well known, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell' Ossirinchie* 94; add LV 3805 43. It is described as an *ἐποίκιον* as well as a *κτῆμα*. A new *λάκκος* is associated with it also in XIX 2244 34. P. IFAO II 12 attests another *λάκκος* in the same locality, including its vault somewhat larger at 113 naubia.

10 *ναίει(α)*. For the spelling see Gignac, *Grammar* I 70. The naubion is a cubic measure containing 27 cubic cubits, see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptunculae* I 109.

The omission of the length here necessitates a roundabout calculation.  $88\frac{1}{8}$  naubia imply  $2380\frac{1}{2}$  cubic cubits ( $88\frac{1}{8} \times 27$ ). The width at 23 cubits (average of the upper and lower widths)  $\times$  the depth 6 cubits = 138 square cubits. Dividing this into the implied  $2380\frac{1}{2}$  cubic cubits supplies the missing length,  $17\frac{1}{4}$  cubits. Obviously this could be expressed more rapidly by an algebraic equation.

The depth in 9, 6 cubits, is the same as that for the *λάκκος* in 4538. It seems odd to us that the length is less than the width. It must have seemed appropriate to apply *πλάτος* to the sloping sides, even when that dimension was the greater of the two.

11 *ἀναβατηρίας*. Attested elsewhere only in P. Oslo III 111.127, 129 with the note on p. 153. P. Flor. I 50 mentions an *ἀναβατικὸν ἕδρευμα*, likewise P. Michael. 42 A 16–17, B 11 *τῶν ὑδρευμάτων πηγαίων τε καὶ ἀναβατικῶν*, translated 'water-supplies both natural and mechanical'. Ultimately, it remains unclear whether these *ἀναβαίνω*-derived words should be understood as active or passive in sense, and with that uncertainty the irrigation function of *ἀναβατηρία* remains uncertain also.

16 See 10 n. The arithmetic is correct: 27 cubits  $\times$  8 (average of the upper and lower widths)  $\times$  3 = 648 cubic cubits,  $\div$  27 = 24 naubia.

17–18 For the equation naubia: solidi cf. VII 1053 (sixth or seventh century), where a rate of 50 naubia per solidus is given, in perhaps similar circumstances, against  $33\frac{2}{3}$  *herc*. Presumably the solidus-figure represents the excavation costs. Cf. 4538 9 n. where the rate appears to be approximately  $11\frac{1}{2}$  naubia only per solidus; that is for construction work seemingly, not just excavation work as conjectured here.

A. SYRCOU

## 4538. MEASUREMENTS OF A CISTERN

65 6B.38/C(9–10)b

12.2  $\times$  12.4 cmSixth/seventh century  
Plate XIX

This document contains measurements of a *λάκκος*, cf. 4537. The cistern in 4538 was rectangular, its length 50 cubits, width  $14\frac{1}{2}$  cubits, depth 6 cubits and its volume just over 161 naubia. Its sides were vertical and, as is indicated by *καμάρα* (1), it was vaulted over.

The lower part of the text is lost. The back is blank.

† ἔ μετρῆς(εις) τῆς καμάρας τοῦ  
λάκκου(ου) τῆς μηχα(νῆς) Νήσου  
Λαχανίας ἐπὶ μὴ(νός) Πάνυ ιζ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ιγ  
οὔτως·

5 μῆκ(ος) πῆχ(εῖς) ν  
πλάτ(ος) πῆχ(εῖς) ιδL  
βάθ(ος) πῆχ(εῖς) ς  
γ(νεταί) ναίει(α) ρξα θ' νδ/  
τῶν ναίει(ων) ιδ,, νο(μυριάτια)

1 I. αἰ; μετρῆς' with hook to extended top of sigma κ of καμάρας corr. from γ 2 λακκ/  
μηχ'ς (double curve attached to chi) 3 μῆ ωδ,, 5 μηκ/ πηχ'ς So in 6 6 πλατς'  
7 βαθ' (crossbar of θ extended with hook) πηχ' 8 γι/ναυῖ 9 ναυῖ 9

'The measurements of the vaulted chamber of the cistern of the irrigated area of Nesu Lachanias on the 17th of the month of Payni of the 13th indiction, as follows:

'Length 50 cubits  
'Width  $14\frac{1}{2}$  cubits  
'Depth 6 cubits

'Total  $161\frac{1}{9}\frac{1}{54}$  naubia.  
'For the naubia  $14(?)$  solidi.'

1 *καμάρας*. The first time in this context. See A. K. Orlandos and I. N. Travlos, *Λεξικὸν Ἀρχαίων Ἀρχιτεκτονικῶν Ὁραμ* 138. Like *ψαλίς* (Orlandos and Travlos 267; 'crypt' or 'barrel vault' J.SJ), it appears to be used both for a vault and by extension for the chamber with the vault. In the present text, clearly only the extended meaning is appropriate. For *ψαλίς* in the sense simply of the 'vault', and in connection with a *λάκκος*, see XLVIII 3409 25–6 ἡ γὰρ ψελλίς (I. ψαλίς) τοῦ λάκκου μου ἔπρεεν. LV 3804 221, τὴν ψαλ(α)δα τοῦ λάκκου, is more equivocal.

2–3 *Νήσου Λαχανίας*. A well known *ἐποίκιον*, see Calderini-Daris, *Diz. geogr.* III 350; P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell' Ossirinchie* 120; add LV 3805 35 and n., and P. L. Bat. XXV 80 A II 6.

8 The total here is not quite accurate for the dimensions given in lines 5–7. 50 cubits  $\times$   $14\frac{1}{2}$   $\times$  6 = 4350 cubic cubits,  $\div$  27 (for the size of the naubion,  $3 \times 3 \times 3$  cubits, see 4537 10 n.) =  $161\frac{1}{9}$  naubia. The extra  $\frac{1}{54}$  naubion implies an extra  $\frac{1}{2}$  cubic cubit, but this is not to be obtained from the dimensions in the text.

9 Comparing 4537, after the total volume of the cistern we expect the mention of the amount of money paid for its construction. For the size of 161 naubia, at the same rate as in 4537 we would expect  $4\frac{3}{4}$  solidi. We have the abbreviation for *νο(μυριάτια)* clearly, but no figure was written after it. Our apparent figure of 14 is thus not only much higher than the rate in 4537 but oddly placed before *νο(μυριάτια)*. Before 1, there is a small hole, but I do not think [γ]ϛ[νεταί] (cf. the form in 8) δ,, is admissible. The higher rate may be justifiable on the basis that *καμάρα* implies construction work, whereas in 4537 *ἀνορυθ(έτρος)* may imply excavation work only.

A. SYRCOU

## 4539–4543. INVITATIONS TO DINNER

The five dinner invitations published here form an interesting addition to the corpus. As well as three invitations to dine at previously attested occasions—an epicrisis, a Sarapis banquet and the *ιέρωμα Ἰσιδος*—there are two invitations to a festival for girls, the *θεραπευτήρια*.

Dinner invitations from Oxyrhynchus are listed by Skcat, *JEA* 61 (1975) 253 note 2, to which should be added I 181 descr. (*BASP* 31 (1994) 44-7), the texts listed by H. Cockle in LII 3693 introd., *ZPE* 35 (1979) 131-2, P. Köln VI 280, SB XVIII 13875 and LXII 4339. Invitations are expressed formulaically, but the reasons for the invitation being sent and the venue for the celebration vary considerably. Invitations fall into two categories: for festivals of a definite religious nature, and to private celebrations for events such as weddings.

4539-43 show few divergences from the usual format, with the name of the host stated but that of the guest omitted, followed by the reason for the dinner, the venue and the date (usually the next day or the same day), expressed as a numeral. The time in all our documents is the standard one, the ninth hour, or between two and three in the afternoon.

## 4539. INVITATION TO AN ISIS FESTIVAL

101/178(b)

8.6 × 3.5 cm

Second/third century  
Plate XX

A well preserved invitation to the *iéρωμα* of Isis, written in a neat upright hand.

The format of this invitation parallels exactly that of P. Fouad 76, so far our only other invitation to, or indeed mention of, this festival of Isis. The only divergences are the venue (a private house in the Fouad text, in ours the Iseum), and the dates, respectively the 29th and the 8th. Unfortunately these dates cannot be assigned to particular Isis festivals with any certainty. The 29th might suggest Chioiak 29, the date of the Cicellia in the Canopus inscription (*OGIS* 56), although this festival was as much Osiriatic as Isiac in character (see R. Merkelbach, *Isisfeste in griechisch-römischer Zeit: Daten und Riten* (1963), 37-8). I have been unable to find any specific feast of Isis for the 8th. The great *Πλοιαφέχεια* or *Navigium Isidis* began on Phamenoth 9, an important Isiac observance, and it is conceivable that devotees could have met the day before for a ritual meal. IV 731 may refer to regular monthly festivals, commencing on the 9th and lasting two days. Protracted Isis-festivals followed by sacred meals are mentioned in Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* xi, 24.

The vague term *iéρωμα* is similarly unhelpful in trying to determine the nature of the feast. Major festivals of Isis were usually designated by name, see H. C. Youtie's re-edition of the Heidelberg Festival papyrus, *Scriptiunculae* I 530-32.

A point of interest is that the host of the banquet is a woman, as is Sarapous in the parallel invitation. It is probably not particularly significant in this context that both women bear Egyptian theophoric names.

The back is blank.

ἔρωτῆι σε Ταῦρις δειπνῆ  
 και εἰς ἱέρωμα τῆς κυρίας  
 Ἰσεῖδος ἐν τῷ Ἰσειῶ τῆ η´  
 ἀπὸ ὧρ(α)ς θ´.

1 ταῦρις      2 ἱέρωμα      3 ἱσεῖδος; I. Ἰσεῖδος      ἱσειῶ      4 θ´

‘Tauris invites you to dine on the occasion of the offering to the lady Isis, in the Iseum, on the 8th, from the 9th hour.’

<sup>3</sup> For the Iseum see J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchus in der Kaiserzeit* 103; G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon* III 528-9; J. E. G. Whitehorne, *ANRW* II 18.5, 3073-4.

D. MONTSERRAT

## 4540. INVITATION TO A SARAPIS MEAL

101/55(c)

9.1 × 4.7 cm

Third century?  
Plate XX

On this very worm-eaten and abraded strip of papyrus is an invitation to dine at the *klíne* of Sarapis in the usual format. A list of these invitations was given by M. Totti in *Ausgewählte Texte der Isis- und Sarapis-Religion* (1985), 125-127. For a discussion see the introd. to P. Coll. Youtie I 51-2. This invitation is to be classed with XIV 1755, P. Coll. Youtie I 52 and LXII 4339 as taking place in the *oikos* of the Serapeum.

Of all invitation types, those to dine at the *κλίνη* *Σαράπιδος* are the most numerous and have attracted the most attention. Opinions as to the significance of the banquet have ranged from seeing it as a purely secular event, a sort of dining society (J. Milne, *JEA* 11 (1925), 6-9) to L. Koenen's idea that its religious character was paramount and that the dates of extant *κλίνη* *Σαράπιδος* invitations could be related to specific Isis festivals (*ZPE* 1 (1967), 121 ff.). The editors of P. Oslo III 157 thought that all Sarapis meals would have had some religious connotation, but that they would have had a more avowedly religious character when held in temples or temple dining-rooms than in private houses. This was echoed by H. C. Youtie, *HTR* 41 (1948) 9 ff. (= *Scriptiunculae* I 184 ff.). Although I would not agree with Milne that the *klíne* of Sarapis was purely

secular, he was probably right to emphasize its social significance. Therefore it is possible that the function of the banquet varied from occasion to occasion. Probably some of the invitations are for cult dinners at specific Sarapis festivals like the one in P. Mich. VIII 511, the preparations for which began two months in advance and which was primarily religious. The date of the banquet in **4540** is the eighth of an unspecified month; possibly this could be associated with **4339** (the ninth), XXXI **2592** (the tenth) or P. Coll. Youtie 52 (the eleventh).

Some interest is afforded by the name of the host, Dionysalexandrus. A second century hypothesis of Cratinus' comedy *Dionysalexandrus* was found at Oxyrhynchus (IV **663** = Pack<sup>2</sup> 252), but this is the first documentary attestation of the name there.

The papyrus' poor state of preservation and the featurelessness of the hand make it rather difficult to date, but I would assign it to the third century rather than the second. The back is blank.

ἔρωτᾶ σε Διονυσαλέξανδρος  
 δειπνήσαι εἰ[ ] κλείνῃ τοῦ κυ-  
 ρ[ο]υ Σαραπίδο[ ] ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ  
 τοῦ Σαραπίου αὔριον ἤτις ἐς-  
 5 τὴν ἡ-ἀπὸ ὧ[ρ]ας θ-.

2 1. κλίην <sup>Ⓟ</sup>

'Dionysalexandrus invites you to dine at the table of the lord Sarapis in the dining-room of the Serapeum, tomorrow, which is the 8th, from the 9th hour.'

3 ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ with XIV **1755**, P. Coll. Youtie I 52 and LXII **4339**: the editors of the latter two give useful references for οἴκοι and temple dining-rooms. For the Serapeum at Oxyrhynchus see J. E. G. Whitehorn, *ANRW* II 18.5, 3078-9; references for Oxyrhynchus and elsewhere are in G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon* IV 947-V 964.

D. MONTSERRAT

#### 4541. INVITATION TO AN EPICRISIS FEAST

101/211(a)

6.6 × 2.5 cm

Third century  
 Plate XX

Similar invitations to celebratory banquets connected with the epicrisis are VI **926**, XXXVI **2792** and XLIX **3501**. The gymnasial epicrisis continues long after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, cf. P. Mich. XIV 676 (272) and P. Turner 38 (after 274).

The back is blank.

ἔρωτᾶ σε διπνήσε Σαραπίω[ ]  
 εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλι(ον) εἰς ἐπικ(ριση) τοῦ  
 υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ [ἀ]πὸ ὧρ(ας) θ-.

1 1. δειπνήσαι 2 καπιτω<sup>λ</sup>, επι<sup>κ</sup> 3 υἱου, Ⓟ Crossbar of θ extended

'Sarapion invites you to dine in the Capitolium on the occasion of the epicrisis of his son, from the 9th hour.'

2 For references to the Capitolium at Oxyrhynchus, see LIV **3757** 3 n.; J. E. G. Whitehorn, *ANRW* II 18.5, 3084. For the Eastern Stoa where it was located (XVII **2109**) see LXIV **4441**.

3 No indication of the day is given: cf. P. Fay. 132.

D. MONTSERRAT

#### 4542-3. TWO INVITATIONS TO A FESTIVAL FOR GIRLS

These invitations are both written across the fibres. The backs of both are blank.

The occasion of the feast is the *therapeuteria*, a word not in LSJ which has hitherto appeared in papyri in P. Oxy. Hels. 50.17 in a context which suggests feasting: *περὶ δὲ τῶν οἰναρίων, ὑπερεθέμεθα τὰ θεραπευτήρια εἰς τὸ μέλλον*. It should perhaps be restored in P. Lond. inv. 3078, republished by D. Montserrat, *JEA* 76 (1990) 206-7, who proposes *δειπνήσαι[ ] εἰς θεραπευτή-]ρια*. P. Flor. III 279 (a sixth-century lease of land) transcribes the singular τοῦ *Θεραπευτηρίου*.

The word *therapeuteria* obviously derives from *θεραπεύω*, of which the meanings at this date range from 'to do service, pay attention to' (sometimes in a ritual context) to 'cure'. The literary sources give no real help. In 'Jo. Chrys.', in *operarios undecimae horae* [*Augustinianum* 18 (1978) 353-6] the sinner *εἰς τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας θεραπευτήριον παραγίνεται*; in Nicetas Choniates, *Hist.* p. 551.56 van Dielen *θεραπευτήριά τε καὶ τρυφήτήρια* are prepared for the crusaders. In both, it seems that *θεραπευτήριον* means 'a place for *θεράπευσις*' — perhaps medical attention in the first, bodily comforts in the second. More relevant is a corrupt gloss in Cyril (Hesych. θ 370 Latte), *θερτήρια: ἐορτή τικ*, which Meineke restored as <Αν> *θεστήρια*, Latte as *Στεπτήρια: θερ<απευ>τήρια* might be a better suggestion.

One possible context would be religious observance. The Suda has an interesting entry under *θεραπευτήρες: οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν προϊστάμενοι, θεραπευταὶ Ἰεῖδος παρ' Αἰγυπτίους*. Groups of *θεραπευταὶ* are widely attested in the hellenistic and Roman East; for Egypt, see UPZ I p. 52. Another might be medical, so that this was a celebration for being cured. If the former, it may be that the *therapeuteria* was somehow connected with puberty; the girls in these documents must be unmarried, since their fathers are the hosts at the feasts. See D. Montserrat, *Sex and Society in Graeco-Roman Egypt* 45-6.

## 4542

100/73(b)

5.3 × 3.7 cm

Third century  
Plate XX

ἔρωτῃ σε Σεουήρος  
 δειπνήσαι ἐν τῇ οἰ-  
 κίᾳ αὐτοῦ εἰς θερα-  
 πευτήρια θυγατρὸς  
 5 αὐτοῦ σήμερον ἥτις  
 ἐστὶν ἡ ἀπὸ ὥρας θ<sup>-</sup>.

6 Ϙ

'Severus invites you to dine in his house on the occasion of the *therapeuteria* of his daughter today, that is the 19th(?), from the 9th hour.'

## 4543

100/77(a)

11 × 6 cm

Late third century  
Plate XX

The papyrus is considerably larger than usual, and has generous margins: the blank space at the bottom is 3 cm, the left margin about 1.5 cm. Nevertheless, this invitation is not of the 'formal' type exemplified by IX 1214, LII 3694 and the later P. Apoll. 72.

καλεῖ σε Ἰσχύς εἰς θεραπευτήρια τῆς  
 θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ [[σήμερον . . . . . ου]] εἰς τὴν  
 ἀντικρὺς αὐτοῦ ο[?]κίαν ἰζ<sup>-</sup> ἀπὸ ὥρας θ<sup>-</sup>.

'Ischys invites you to the *therapeuteria* of his daughter [[today ...]] in the house opposite his, on the 17th, from the 9th hour.'

<sup>1</sup> καλεῖ, although less usual than ἐρωτῇ, is still formulaic: cf. XII 1486, XVII 2147.

<sup>2</sup> Ἰσχύς. Cf. P. Prag. II 141 I.5?

<sup>2-3</sup> The time and possibly also the venue of the feast have been changed: one is reminded of the postponed *therapeuteria* in P. Oxy. Hels. 50.

D. MONTSERRAT

## 4544. PRIVATE LETTER: EUDAEMON TO HEGUMENUS

46 5B.51/F(2 4)b

12 × 26.5 cm

Third century

This private letter was written on the back of the tax account offset 4527 above (dating from after 28 August 185), across the fibres and upside down relative to 4527. There is no address.

χαῖρε κύριέ μου  
 Ἦγούμενε π(αρά) Εὐδαίμονος.  
 παραγεν(όμεν)ος εἰ[?] Ἡρακλεοπ(ολίτην?)  
 δέδωκα τὰ β<sup>-</sup> κεράμια  
 5 Πασικῆ τῶν ἐλεῶν  
 ἵνα σοι ἀποδοῖ. ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τὸ ἐργατικὸν τοῦ  
 μαγείρου σου ὄσον οὕτω  
 ἢ πέμψω ἢ κομῶ, ὅταν  
 10 μοι ποιήσης γραφήναι, εἴ  
 γε βούλει πρὸς σὲ γενέσθαι.  
 τῷ ἀγαθωτάτῳ Χρησίμῳ  
 τὸ ἐντόλιον ἐκε[?] ἐνεγκῶν  
 τῷ αὐτῷ δέδωκα Πασικῆ.  
 15 εἰάν σοι ἡδὺ ἦν, γράψεις μοι  
 τί βούλει πρὶν ταξ[. . . . .] . . . .  
 [[βο]]θέλουσι λαβεῖν πρὸς[. . .] . ρεζιν.

Down the left margin:

μηδὲν ὑπὲρ τιμῆς δῶς τῷ τὰς ἐλέας σοι διδόντι.  
 (m. 2?) ἐρρώσθαι σε εὐχο(μαι), κύριέ μου.

2 π<sup>1</sup> 3 ηρακλεο 5 l. ἐλαιῶν 6 l. ἀποδοῖ 15 l. ἦ 18 l. ἐλαίας 19 ευχο<sup>1</sup>

'Greetings, my lord Hegumenus, from Eudaemon. I have arrived in the Heracleopolite(?) and I have given the two jars to Pasicas, I mean the jars of olives, so that he may give them to you. However, your cook's wages(?) I shall either send or bring without delay, whenever you have someone write to me, if indeed you want it to go to you(?). I took the order for the excellent Chresimus there and have given it to the same Pasicas. If it so please you, write to me what you want before ... they want to take ...'

(Margin) 'Don't pay anything to the man who gives you the olives. I pray for your health, my lord.'

1 *χαίρε κύριέ μου*. This opening occurs in letters from the 2nd to the 3rd century AD, see F. H. J. Exler, *A Study in Greek Epistolography* 35–6. It is not used for official letters, but for private ones. This would favour 'Ἠγούμενε against ἡγούμενε (2).

2 *Ἠγούμενε*. See 1 n. Recorded both as a proper name and as a title; it is sometimes difficult to choose. For the personal name cf. P. Heid. IV 325.1 (Oxyrhynchite, after 6 January 215) and n. It is also clearly a personal name in PSI XII 1238 (2 September 244).

3 *Ἡρακλεοπολίτην?* The expansion is not certain; we might expect the article with *Ἡρακλεοπολίτην*. On the other hand, the normal form of the city name is *Ἡρακλέους πόλις*. See Calderini-Daris, *Diz. geogr.* II 217–9, 220–4.

5 *Πασικά*. The name is attested elsewhere only in P. Münch. III 146 iii 19 (II AD) and P. Ross. Georg. III 1.25 (III AD), in the genitive *Πασικάτος*; for the declension, see Gignac, *Grammar* I 276–7; II 16–18.

7 *τὸ ἐργατικόν*. Leaving aside references to working livestock, a search under *ἐργατικ-* on the DDBDP produces P. Bad. II 26.6, P. Cairo Goodsp. 30 xxxvii 16, P. Corn. 3.15, P. Lond. III 1170 verso 432, SPP X 251 A 6 and SB I 4921.5. None of these texts supplies a clear meaning. Cf. also **4530** 30.

6 *ἀποδοί*. For the form see Gignac, *Grammar* II 388.

8 *ἔσον οὐπω*. For this idiom see LSJ s.v. *ἔσος* IV.5.

12 *ἀγαθωτάτω*. This superlative form, equivalent of *βελτίστῳ*, is found among later classical authors and in the papyri. See Gignac, op. cit. II 146–7. It is worth noticing that, in the papyri, *ἀγαθώτατος* seems to apply only to persons, which is not true of *βελτίστος*.

13 *ἐντάδιον*. Cf. P. Brem. 20.8, P. Hamb. II 192.6 and O. Bodl. II 252.1, where the square bracket faces the wrong way. *ἐντολίδιον* occurs in XIV 1767 17–18.

15 *ἦν* for *ἦ*, as often, see Gignac, op. cit. II 405.

17 *[[βο]]*. Eudaemon was probably going to write *βούλονται* instead of *θέλονται*, having in mind still the *βούλει* he had just written above (16).

18 *δῶς?* Given the writer's use of the form *ἀποδοί* (6), perhaps *δωσ* = *δός* is more probable.

P. SCHUBERT

## INDEXES

Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in *LSJ* or Suppl. The article is not indexed.

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 τρηχίς 4505 2.10  
 τρώγωνον 4505 2.3?  
 τρίπους 4502 30, 34  
 τρίτος 4505 2.13  
 τρόπος 4502 35  
 πυργάνειν 4503 „2.3 4504 ii 11, 12, 13, 17, 20 4506  
 1.5  
 τυράς 4502 39

ὑπάρχειν 4502 36  
 ὑπέρχεσθαι 4502 23  
 ὕπιος 4502 5  
 ὑπό 4504 ii 4  
 ὑποχθόνιος 4504 ii 22  
 ὕς 4502 40  
 ὕστατος 4502 23  
 ὕψις 4502 40

Φαίανον 4504 ii 15a  
 φαλλός 4502 34  
 φάνας 4504 ii 7 4506 1.1?  
 φαῦλος 4503 →2.8a  
 φέρεω [4505 1.4, 2.9]  
 φιλόλογος 4505 1.7  
 φίλος 4505 [1.5], 2.7  
 φύσις 4503 →2.3  
 φωνή 4504 ii 8  
 Φωσφάρος 4504 ii 10 [4505 1.8]

χαμαί 4502 33  
 χαρίεις 4505 1.5, 2.7  
 χεῖρ 4502 27  
 χείρον 4504 ii 9  
 χείρων 4504 ii 4  
 χῆν 4502 40  
 χήρα 4503 „2.11  
 χῆρτος 4502 39  
 χῆρην 4503 „2.3  
 χυλός 4502 13  
 χῶρος 4502 23

ψίαθος 4502 28  
 ψιλοῦν 4502 27

ᾧδε 4502 29  
 ὠραῖος 4502 4, 10  
 ὠρονόμος 4503 →2.3, 11  
 ὠσπερ 4504 ii 7 4506 1.1?

## II. COMEDY

## (a) 4508–4509

Χριστοφάνης 4508 1.9  
 αὐτός 4509 1.3

δε 4509 1.4  
 Διονύσια? 4508 3.4

εἶναι 4509 1.4  
 ἔμμεναι 4509 1.6  
 ἐν 4508 1.9  
 ἐνὸπνιον 4509 1.7

κακο- 4509 1.2  
 Καλλίας 4508 1.8

ἀλλά 4523 1.7  
 ἀντέχειν 4522 11

βιάζειν 4523 3.3

γαμεῖν 4522 4  
 γάρ 4523 1.5  
 γίνεσθαι 4522 9  
 γυνή 4522 8

δάς 4522 14  
 διδόναι 4522 14

εἰσέναι 4522 17

ἡμέρα 4522 2

θεά 4522 21

καί 4522 20  
 κακίον 4522 3  
 καλόν 4522 13  
 κρότος 4522 20

Κλέων 4509 1.2  
 κολλάειν 4509 2.3

παράγειν 4508 1.10  
 Παφλαγίων 4509 1.3  
 παφλάζειν 4509 1.4  
 πρός 4508 1.11

φουλακή 4508 1.6

Χαριᾶδες 4508 1.7

\*Ὠραι 4508 1.10

## (b) 4522–4523

λαμβάνειν 4522 18  
 λέγειν 4522 12

ὄραν 4522 10, 16

παννυχ- 4523 3.2  
 πολός 4522 5  
 προσέναι 4522 6

σεμνός 4522 20  
 σύ 4522 12

τί 4523 1.7  
 τοῦτο 4522 10  
 τρεῖς 4522 2

ἴσο(-) 4523 3.4

φορτίον 4522 1  
 φρουρ- 4523 3.6

χλαμύς 4523 3.5

## III. RULERS AND REGNAL YEARS

## VESPASIAN

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Οὐεσπασιανὸς Σεβαστὸς (year 2)  
4526 28 29

## DOMITIAN

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Δομιτιανὸς Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς  
(year 4) 4532 3, cf. 11

## COMMODUS

Κόμμοδος Ἄντωνιὸς Καίσαρ (incomplete, year 25)  
4527 6

## SEVERUS

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σευήρος  
Ἐίσεβθε Περγίναξ Σεβαστὸς Ἰαβρικὸς Ἀδιαβηρικὸς  
(year 4) 4531 34–38

## DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστοὶ  
(year 5 and 4?) 4530 38–39; also 4530 3–5 (oath  
formula), cf. 26–27 (incomplete)

Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Σεβαστοὶ  
(year 5 and 4?) 4530 18–19

## MAURICE

ὁ θεότατος καὶ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν δεσπότης μέγιστος  
εὐεργέτης Φλάουιος Μαυρίκιος Νέος Τιβέριος ὁ

αἰώνιος Ἀβγουστος καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ (year 18)  
4535 3–6

## HERACLIUS

ὁ θεότατος καὶ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν δεσπότης μέγιστος  
εὐεργέτης Φλάουιος Ἡράκλειος ὁ αἰώνιος Ἀβγουστος  
καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ (year 2) 4536 2–5

Year 30/20/12/3 (AD 335/6) 4534 7–8

## IV. CONSULS

AD 335 ἑπατείας Ἰουλιὸν Κωνσταντίνου πατρικίου  
ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου  
Ἀβγουστού καὶ Ἰουλίον Ἀλβίνου τῶν λαμπροτάτων  
4534 1–2

AD 336 ἑπατείας Οὐίριον Νεπωσιανὸν καὶ Τερτίου  
Φακούνδου τῶν λαμπροτάτων 4528 1–2

AD 376 ἑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Οὐάλεντος τὸ ε  
καὶ Οὐαλεντινιανὸν τὸ ας τῶν αἰωνίων Ἀβγουστών  
4529 1–2

AD 600 ἑπατείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπό-  
του ἔτους ιζ 4535 7–8

## V. INDICCTIONS

1st indiction 4536 6 (=AD 612/613)

3rd indiction 4535 8–9 (=AD 599/600) 4537 5

4th indiction 4537 6

13th indiction 4538 3

## VI. MONTHS AND DAYS

## (a) MONTHS

Ἀθὴρ 4530 19, 40

Ἐπίερ 4531 39

Μεσορῆ 4527 15

Μεχείρ 4532 3

Νέος Σεβαστὸς 4533 1

Παῦνι 4529 2 4538 3

Παχών 4528 18 4537 5

Τύβι 4526 29 4535 8

Φαμενώθ 4532 10

Φαῶφι 4534 7, 16 4536 5

## (b) DAYS

Σεβαστή 4526 29

## VII. DATES

28 June 196 4531 39

17 November 288(?) 4530 19

18 November 288(?) 4530 40

2 October 335 4534 16

6 May 336 4528 18

22 June 376 4529 2

14 January(?) 600 4535 8

27 October 612(?) 4536 5

## VIII. PERSONAL NAMES

Αἰμίλιος Ἀμμωνιανὸς centurion 4531 8–9

Ἀλβίνος see Index IV s.v. AD 335

Ἀλεξᾶς f. of Hatres, gd.-f. of Amois and Zoilus 4533 4

Ἀμμωνιανὸς see Αἰμίλιος Ἀμμωνιανὸς

Ἀμμώνιος see Αἰρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος

Ἀμόσις b. of Zoilus, s. of Hatres and Heraclous, gd.-s.

of Alexas 4533 4, 5, 10, [11]

Ἀμόσις *diapatites* 4526 17

Ἄνοσις f. of Aurelius Apollon 4536 14, 38

Ἄνοσις see Αἰρήλιος Ἄνοσις

Ἄνωγιος see Index III s.v. Commodus

Ἄσις farmer 4528 9

Ἀπίων see Φλάουιος Ἀπίων

Ἀπολλώνιος ex-strategus of Ars. Heracl. 4527 4

Ἀπολλώνιος s. of Panemgeus, gd.-s. of Petsirion, great

gd.-s. of Cuos 4532 [7], 10, [13], 17 (Ἀπολλῶς)

Ἀπολλώνιος maternal gd.-f. of Apollonius (Apollon)

4532 7

Ἀπολλώνιος *vir perfectissimus* 4525 30

Ἀπολλῶς see Ἀπολλώνιος

Ἀπολλῶς see Αἰρήλιος Ἀπολλῶς

Ἀπολλῶς see Φλάουιος Ἀπολλῶς

Ἀπολλῶς f. of Aurelius Erkot 4536 14, 38

Ἀριστώς w. of Ophellion, m. of Harpocratation 4531  
23–24

Ἄρπαλος s. of Harpalus, *diapatites* 4526 16

Ἄρπαλος f. of Harpalus 4526 16

Ἄρποκρατίων s. of Harpocratation, adopted s. of Asclas

4531 2, 40

Ἄρποκρατίων f. of Harpocratation 4531 3

Ἄρποκρατίων s. of Ophellion and Aristos 4531

21–22, 42

Ἀρχίας f. of Heraclous 4533 4

Ἄσκλης f. by adoption of Harpocratation 4531 4

Ἄτρης f. of Aurelius Sarapion 4530 14

Ἄτρης s. of Alexas, h. of Heraclous, f. of Amois and

Zoilus 4533 4, 10

Ἀἰρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος comarch 4530 13, 21

Ἀἰρήλιος Ἄνοσις 4530 34–5, 42

Ἀἰρήλιος Ἀπολλῶς s. of Anup 4536 13, 38



Ἀβρήλιος Γούνθος s. of Euty chius **4534** 3, 11, 17  
 Ἀβρήλιος Δίδυμος public doctor **4528** 4, 19  
 Ἀβρήλιος Διονύσιος public doctor **4529** 4  
 Ἀβρήλιος Ἐρκιάτ s. of Apollonius **4536** 14, 38  
 Ἀβρήλιος Εὐδαίμων public doctor **4529** 4  
 Ἀβρήλιος Ἥλιας s. of Apa Nacius and Isis **4535** 16, 35, 42  
 Ἀβρήλιος Ἦρων public doctor **4528** 4, 20  
 Ἀβρήλιος Θεωνός public doctor **4528** 4  
 Ἀβρήλιος Μέλας **4530** 20  
 Ἀβρήλιος Πτολεμαῖος former prytanis **4528** 7  
 Ἀβρήλιος Σαραπίων comarch, s. of Hatres **4530** 14, 21–2  
 Ἀβρήλιος Σιλβανός public doctor **4528** 5  
 Ἀβρήλιος Σωτήριχος comarch, s. of Germanus **4530** 15, 22  
 Ἀχιλλᾶς h. of Tapontos, s. of Heraclius, gd.-s. of Theon **4533** [2, 9, 16], 17, [19], 22

Γερμανός f. of Aurelius Soterichus **4530** 15–16  
 Γλακίας **4533** 14  
 Γούνθος see Ἀβρήλιος Γούνθος

Δαμαρίων f. of Hermous **4526** 23  
 Δημαροῦς w. of Thomoeris, m. of Thomoeris **4533** 15  
 Δίδυμος see Ἀβρήλιος Δίδυμος  
 Διογένης f. of Eudamcon **4533** 18  
 Διονυαλέξανδρος **4540** 1  
 Διονύσιος see Ἀβρήλιος Διονύσιος  
 Διονύσιος *diematites*, s. of Dionysius and gd.-s. of Saprion **4526** 24  
 Διονύσιος s. of Saprion, f. of Dionysius **4526** 24  
 Διοσκοράμμων **4534** 5  
 Διοσκορούδης *ex-curator civitatis* **4525** 15

Ἐκάτων **4533** 16–17  
 Ἐρκιάτ see Ἀβρήλιος Ἐρκιάτ  
 Ἐρμάιος royal scribe **4526** 4  
 Ἐρμάσιος *diematites*, s. of Damarion **4526** 23  
 Εὐδαίμων see Ἀβρήλιος Εὐδαίμων  
 Εὐδαίμων h. of Isidora, s. of Diogenes **4533** 18  
 Εὐδαίμων **4544** 2  
 Εὐθύχιος f. of Aurelius Gunthus **4534** 3

Ζωῖλος b. of Amois, s. of Hatres and Heraclius, gd.-s. of Alexas **4533** 4, [6], 10, [11]

Ἴγούμιενος **4544** 2  
 Ἥλιας see Ἀβρήλιος Ἥλιας  
 Ἡράκλειος s. of Theon, h. of Tapontos, f. of Achilles **4533** [2], 9  
 Ἡράκλειος farmer **4537** 3  
 Ἡρακλῆς s. of Heracles, *diematites* **4526** 15  
 Ἡρακλῆς f. of Heracles **4526** 15

Ἡρακλοῦς d. of Archias, w. of Hatres, m. of Amois and Zoilus **4533** 4  
 Ἡραῶδης see Κλαύδιος Ἡραῶδης  
 Ἦρων see Ἀβρήλιος Ἦρων

Θέων f. of Heraclius, gd.-f. of Achilles **4533** 2, 9  
 Θέων banker **4526** 2  
 Θεών see Ἰούλιος Θεών  
 Θεών see Κλαύδιος Θεών  
 Θεωνός see Ἀβρήλιος Θεωνός  
 Θοδοῆρις: Thomoeris s. of Thomoeris and Demarous, gd.-s. of Thomoeris **4533** 15

Ἰουλιανός see Φλάουσιος Ἰουλιανός  
 Ἰουλιανός (*ex-?curator civitatis?*) **4525** 35 (see n.)  
 Ἰούλιος Θεών **4531** 7, 17–18  
 Ἰούλιος Κωνσταντῖος see Index IV s.v. AD 335  
 Ἰεδώρα w. of Eudamcon **4533** 18  
 Ἰεῖς w. of Apa Nacius, m. of Aurelius Elias **4535** 17  
 Ἰεῖος see Φλάουσιος Ἰεῖος  
 Ἰεχὺς **4543** 1  
 Ἰωάννης (notary) **4536** 34, 37 (Ἰωαννί)

Κιλικάς s. of ?Plates, *diematites* **4526** 14  
 Κλαύδιος Ἡραῶδης strategus of the Oxyrhynchite **4526** 1  
 Κλαύδιος Θεών **4526** 10  
 Κούος f. of Petsirion, gd.-f. of Panemgeus, great gd.-f. of Apollonius (Apollon) **4532** 4  
 Κωνσταντῖος see Index IV s.v. AD 335

Λέων see Index IXb  
 Λουκρήτιος Νεῖλος strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome **4531** 1

Μακρόβιος see Φλάουσιος Μακρόβιος  
 Μέλας see Ἀβρήλιος Μέλας  
 Μηνᾶς οἰκέτης **4536** 10

Νααρωοῦς f. of Tapontos **4533** 2  
 Νάκιος: Apa Nacius, h. of Isis, f. of Aurelius Elias **4535** 17, 36, 42  
 Νεῖλος see Λουκρήτιος Νεῖλος  
 Νεποτιανός see Index IV s.v. AD 336

Ὀδυσσεασιανός see Index III s.v. Vespasian  
 Ὀνίτριος Νεποτιανός see Index IV s.v. AD 336  
 Ὀφελλίων h. of Aristos, f. of Harpocraton **4531** 22–23, 42

Πανωμγεῖος s. of Petsirion, gd.-s. of Cuos; f. of Apollonius (Apollon) **4532** 4, 10, 13, 17  
 Παποντῶς s. of Syrus, *diematites* **4526** 19  
 Παπνούθιος (notary) **4535** 39, 41 (Ἐρμυθίου)

Πασικὸς **4544** 5, 14  
 Πάβλος priest **4537** 3  
 Πετρευρίων s. of Cuos, f. of Panemgeus, gd.-f. of Apollonius (Apollon) **4532** 4  
 Πτολεμαῖος see Ἀβρήλιος Πτολεμαῖος

Ῥούφιος Ἀλβίνος see Index IV s.v. AD 335

Σαμβούος **4533** 14  
 Σάπρων? f. of Dionysius, gd.-f. of Dionysius **4526** 24  
 Σαραπίων **4541** 1  
 Σαραπίων *diematites* **4526** 18  
 Σαραπίων see also Ἀβρήλιος Σαραπίων  
 Σεουήρος **4542** 1  
 Σιλβανός see Ἀβρήλιος Σιλβανός  
 Στρατήγιος consul, s. of Phoebammon **4535** 13  
 Σύρος f. of Papontos **4526** 19  
 Σωτήριχος see Ἀβρήλιος Σωτήριχος

Ταποντῶς d. of Naarouos, w. of Heraclius, m. of Achilles **4533** 2

Ταῦρις **4539** 1  
 Τέττιος Φακοῦνδος see Index IV s.v. AD 336

Υἱγενίος see Φλάουσιος Υἱγενίος

Φακοῦνδος see Index IV s.v. AD 336  
 Φιλόξενος see Φλάουσιος Φιλόξενος  
 Φλάουσιος Ἀπίων *ex-consul, rabicius* **4536** 7  
 Φλάουσιος Ἀπολλῶς *comes sacri consistorii, dioecetes* **4535** 10  
 Φλάουσιος Ἰουλιανός acting syndic **4528** 3  
 Φλάουσιος Ἰεῖων soldier **4534** 4  
 Φλάουσιος Μακρόβιος *curator civitatis* of the Oxyrhynchite **4529** 3  
 Φλάουσιος Υἱγενίος *praefectus Aegypti* **4525** 26  
 Φλάουσιος Φιλόξενος *stationarius* **4529** 7  
 Φοιβάμμων f. of Strategius **4535** 14

Χρήσιμος **4544** 12  
 \*Ἔρος *diematites* **4526** 20

## IX. GEOGRAPHICAL

## (a) COUNTRIES, NOMES, TOPARCHIES, CITIES, ETC.

Ἀγυπτὸς **4525** 26  
 Ἄρβια **4524** 4

Διοπολίτης **4524** 2

Ἐρμοπολίτης **4531** 26

Ἡρακλεῖθον μερίς (Arsinoite nome) **4527** 2  
 Ἡρακλεσπολίτης? **4544** 3

Θηβαῖς **4533** 1

Μενδήσιος **4534** 10

Νέα Πόλις (in Alexandria) **4526** 8  
 Νεκούτ **4524** 3

Κολιναθῆρ **4530** 2, 16

Λέων (κτῆμα) **4537** 4

Νέμερα **4532** 4, 6  
 Νήσιος Λαχανιάς (ἐποίκιον) **4538** 2 3  
 Νίω **4530** 2, 15

Ἰξουρηνχίτης (νομός) **4526** 1 **4528** 3 **4529** 3 **4532** 1 **4535** 19 **4536** 15–16, 38  
 Ἰξουρηνχιδῶν πόλις **4534** 4  
 Ἰξουρῆγιων πόλις **4526** 6 **4531** 4–5 **4533** 1, 2 **4535** 16 **4536** 9

Πανέφυσις? **4524** 3 (see n.)  
 Πανὸς πόλις **4530** 6, 28  
 Πέρερη (τῆς ἐπιγονῆς) **4532** 7

Σεβενυτής **4524** 1

Τανίτης **4524** 5  
 τοπαρχία **4532** 2 (μέση), 5 (κάτω)

## (b) VILLAGES, ETC.

Πλεεῖν **4536** 15, 38

Σέεφθα **4532** 5  
 Σικεῶνος Β. καρ- (ἐποίκιον) **4535** 18–19, 42  
 Σάβθα **4530** 36

Τωοῦ **4530** 14

## (c) MISCELLANEOUS

Λάκκος (μηχανή καλουμένη του Λ.) 4537 2

## X. RELIGION

ἀγαθή τύχη 4533 1

ἄπα 4535 17, 36, 42

δεσπότης 4535 1 4536 1

Ἐρμής 4533 21

θεραπευτήρια 4542 3-4 4543 1  
θεός 4535 2 4536 2

ἑρέτρια 4539 2  
Ἰησοῦς 4535 2 4536 1  
Ἰεῖον 4539 3  
Ἰεὺς 4539 3

Καπιτώλιος 4541 2  
κύριος 4535 1 4536 1

Σαραπείον 4540 4  
Σάραπις 4533 16 4540 3  
σωτήρ 4535 2 4536 2

Χριστός 4535 2 4536 1

## XI. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TERMS AND TITLES

ἀγορανομικός 4532 2

βασιλικός γραμματεὺς 4526 4-5  
βιβλιοθήκη 4532 1  
βουλευτής 4525 6, 32

γενναϊότατος 4530 9, 31  
γραμματεὺς *see* βασιλικός γ.

διασημότατος 4525 20, 30

ἔγκτησις 4532 1  
ἐκατόνταρχος 4531 9-10, 21  
ἐκβολεὺς 4525 25?  
ἐμμέλεια 4528 6 4529 6  
ἐπαρχος (Αἰγύπτου) 4525 20, 26

θεῖος 4535 11

κεφαλαιωτής 4525 8  
κόμης 4535 11  
κουριστώριον 4535 11  
κράτιστος 4531 20  
κυριακός λόγος 4526 26  
καμάρχης 4530 16-17

λαμπρός 4534 3, 4 4535 15 4536 9  
λαμπρότατος (*clarissimus*) 4528 2

λαμπρότης 4535 21, 31  
λογιστής 4525 15, 33; 35? (*see n.*) 4529 3  
λόγος *see s.v.* κυριακός λ.

οἰκιακός 4526 10  
ὄφρακιάλιος 4525 27

παγαρχεῖν 4536 16  
πανέφημος 4535 12 4536 7, 12  
πατρικός 4536 8  
περίβλεπτος 4535 10  
προστρατηγεῖν 4527 4  
πρυτανεῖν 4528 8  
πρύτανις 4525 9, 21, 32  
πρωτοφιλαξ 4536 38

Σεβαστός 4533 1  
στατιωνάριος 4529 8  
στρατηγός 4526 1 4531 1  
στρατιάτης 4525 29 4530 9, 32  
συνδικία 4528 3 (διοικῶν συνδικίαν)

τάξις 4525 27

ἕπατος 4535 13 4536 8 (ἀπὸ ἑπάτων)

χωματεκβολεὺς 4525 25?

## XII. PROFESSIONS, TRADES, AND OCCUPATIONS

ἀμπελοκτῆτωρ 4525 22

γεωργός 4528 9 4531 15, 32 4535 20 4537 4  
γραμματεὺς 4531 5-6

διεραματίτης 4526 5  
διοικητής 4535 12

ἰατρός 4528 5 4529 5 (both δημόσιος ἰ.)

μάγειρος 4544 8

οἰκέτης 4536 10

ταρκακάριος 4534 6  
τραπεζῆτης (δημοσίων τ.) 4526 2-3

χαλκεὺς 4525 4

## XIII. MEASURES

## (a) WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

ἀρτάβη 4526 7, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, λίτρα 4534 10  
23, 24 4527 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16

ναύβιον 4537 10, 16, 17 4538 8, 9

κεράτιον 4535 28, 29, 38, 42

πήχυς 4537 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15 4538 5, 6, 7

## (b) MONEY

δραχμή 4526 7, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, δβολός 4526 18  
23, 24, 25 4532 8, 9 4533 7, 8, 13

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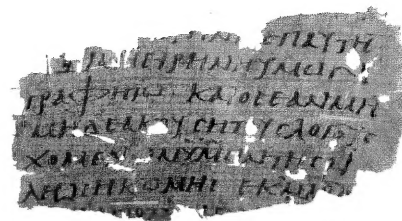
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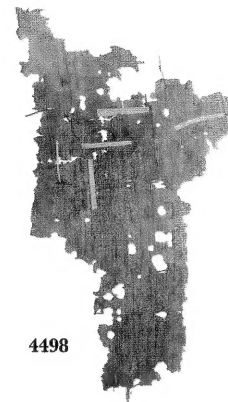
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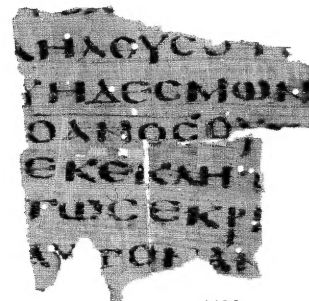
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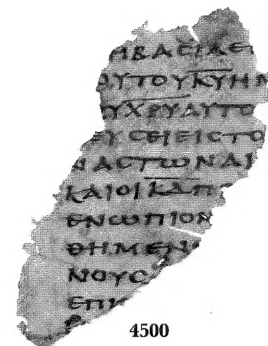
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